## LETTER

TO

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM.

II. SOME

### REFLECTIONS

ONTHE

Present State of the Nation.

III.

A

### LETTER to Mr. POPE.

By the late RIGHT HONORABLE

HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

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SE WILLIAM WINDHAM.

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OME

# REFLECTIONS

Prefent State of the Mation.

LETTER COME POPE.

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#### A

# LETTER

TO

### Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM.

Written in the Year

One thousand seven bundred and seventeen.

By the late RIGHT HONORABLE

HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.



## LETTER

TO

### Sir William Windham.

Was well enough acquainted with the general character of mankind, and in particular with that of my own countrymen, to expect to be as much out of the minds of the tories during my exile, as if we had never lived and acted together. I depended on being forgot by them; and was far from imagining it possible that I should be remembered, only to be condemned loudly by one half of them, and to be tacitly cenfured by the greatest part of the other half. A 2

### A LETTER to

half. As foon as I was separated from the pretender and his interest, I declared myself to be so; and I gave directions for writing into. England what I judged sufficient to put my friends on their guard against any surprise concerning an event, which it was their interest, as well as mine; that they should be very rightly informed about.

As foon as the pretender's adherents began to clamor against me in this country, and to disperse their scandal by circular letters every where else, I gave directions for writing into England again. Their groundless articles of accusation were resuted, and enough was said to give my friends

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. friends a general idea of what had happened to me, and at least. to make them suspend the fixing any opinion till fuch time as L should be able to write more fully and plainly to them mylelf. To condemn no person unheard is a rule of natural equity, which we see rarely violated in Turky, or in the country where I am writing: that it would not be fo with me in Great Britain, I confess that I flattered myself, bul dwelt fecurely in this confidence, and gave very little attention to any of those scurrilous methods, which were taken about this time to blaft my reputation. The event of things has shewn, that I trusted too much to my own innocence, and to the justice of my old friends. He mon A 3

IT was obvious, that the chevalier and the earl of MAR hoped to load me with the imputation of treachery, incapacity, or neglect: it was indifferent to them of which. If they could afcribe to one of those their not being supported from France, they imagined that they should justify their precipitate slight from Scotland, which many of their faftest friends exclaimed against; and that they should varnish over that original capital fault, the drawing the Highlanders together in arms at the time and in the manner in which it was done.

THE Scotch, who fell at once from all the fanguine expectations with

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 7 with which they had been foothed, and who found themselves reduced to despair, were easy to be incenfed: they had received no support whatever, and it was natural for them rather to believe that they falled of this support by my fault, than to imagine their general had prevailed on them to rife in the very point of time when it was impossible that they should be supported from France, or from any other part of the world. The duke of Ox-MOND, who had been the bubble of his own popularity, was enough out of humor with the general turn of affairs to be eafily let against any particular man. The emissaries of this court, whose commission was to amuse, had imposed A 4

imposed upon him all along; and there were other busy people, who thought to find their account in having him to themselves. I had never been in his secret whilst we were in England together: and from his first coming into France he was either prevailed upon by others, or, which I rather believe, he concurred with others to keep me out of it. The perfect indifference I shewed whether I was in it or no, might carry him from acting separately, to act against me.

THE whole tribe of irish and other papists were ready to seize the first opportunity of venting their spleen against a man, who had constantly avoided all intimacy

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sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 9
macy with them; who acted in
the fame cause, but on a different principle, and who meant
no one thing in the world less,
than raising them to the advantages which they expected.

for the reasons I have mentioned, should join in a cry against me, is not very marvellous: the contrary would be so to a man who knows them as well as I do. But that the english tories should serve as echos to them, nay more, that my character should continue doubtful at best amongst you, when those who first propagated the slander are become ashamed of railing without proof, and have dropped the clamor, this

THE whigs impeached and attainted me. They went farther -at least, in my way of thinking, that step was more cruel than all the others—by a partial representation of facts, and pieces of facts, put together as it best fuited their purpose, and published to the whole world, they did all that in them lay to expose me for a fool, and to brand me for a knave. But then I had deferved this abundantly at their hands, according to the notions of party-justice. The tories

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 44 tories have not indeed impeached nor attainted me; but they have done, and are still doing fomething very like to that which I took worse of the whigs, than the impeachment and attainder: and this, after I have thewn an inviolable attachment to the service, and almost an implicit obedience to the will of the party; when I am actually an out-law, deprived of my honors, stripped of my fortune, and cut off from my family and my country, for their fakes.

Some of the persons who have seen me here, and with whom I have had the pleasure to talk of you, may, perhaps, have told

#### 12 MALLETTER 10

told you, that, far from being oppressed by that storm of misfortunes in which I have been toffed of late, I bear up against it with firmness enough, and even with alacrity. It is true, I do fo: but it is true likewise, that the last burst of the cloud has gone near to overwhelm me. From our enemies we expect evil treatment of every fort, we are prepared for it, we are animated by it, and we fometimes triumph in it: but when our friends abandon us, when they wound us, and when they take, to do this, an occasion where we stand the most in need of their support, and have the best title to it, the firmest mind finds it hard to oh you, may, pranage, .filer

Norhing

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 13 Nothing kept up my spirits when I was first reduced to the very circumstances I now defcribe, fo much as the confideration of the delufions under which I knew that the tories lay, and the hopes I entertained of being able foon to open their eyes, and to justify my conduct. I expected that friendship, or, if that principle failed, curiofity at leaft, would move the party to fend over some person, from whose report they might thaven both fides of the question laid before them. Tho this expectation be founded in reason, and you want to be informed at least as much as I do to be justified, yet I have hitherto flattered my felf with

it in vain in To repair this mis-

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fortune,

fortune, therefore, as far as lies in my power, I resolve to put into writing the fum of what I should have faid in that case. These papers shall lie by me till time and accidents produce forme occasion of communicating them to you. The true occasion of doing it, with advantage to the party, will probably be loft: but they will remain a monument of my justification to posterity. At worst, if even this fails me, I am fure of one fatisfaction in writing them; the fatisfaction of unburdening my mind to a friend, and of stating before an equitable judge the account, as I apprehend it to Rand, between the tories and myfelf. Quantum humano conforturks " filio

" rum omnium, quam tibi, si
" potero, breviter exponam."

feed fall out in the king's reign IT is necessary to my design that I call to your mind the state of affairs in Britain, from the latter part of the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, about which time we parted. I go no farther back, because the part which I acled before that time, in the first essays I made in public affairs, was the part of a tory, and fo far of a piece with that which I acted

I acted afterwards. Befides, the things which preceded this space of time had no immediate influence on those which happened fince that time; whereas the strange events, which we have feen fall out in the king's reign, were owing in a great measure to what was done, or neglected to be done, in the last four years of the queen's. The memory of these events being fresh, I shall dwell as little as possible upon them. It will be fufficient that I make a rough sketch of the face of the court, and of the conduct of the feveral parties during that time. Your memory will foon furnish the colors which I shall omit to lay, and finish up the picture.

FROM

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 37

From the time at which I left Britain I had not the advantage of acting under the eyes of the party which I ferved, nor of being able, from time to time, to appeal to their judgment. The gross of what happened has appeared ; but the particular steps, which ded to those events, have been either concealed for mifrepresented arcons cealed from the nature of them! or misrepresented by the ofe with whomil nevergagreediperfeetly; except in thinking in that withey and It were vextrenely unfit to continue embarked in the fainb bottom together! It will, theres fore, be proper tondefcend, suns der this head, to a more partitud lar relation, enough the throne, enough a lar

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IN

In the fummer of the year one thousand seven hundred and ten the queen was prevailed upon to change her parliament and her ministry. The intrigue of the earl of Oxford might facilitate the means, the violent profecution of SACHEVEREE, and other unpopular measures, might create the occasion, and encourage her in the refolution? but the true original cause was the perfonal ill usage which the received in her private life, and in fome trifling inflances of the exercise of her power; for indulgence in which she would certainly have left the reins of government in those hands, which had held them ever fince her accession to the throne. moission rail

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Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 19 I AM afraid that we came to court in the same dispositions as all parties have done; that the principal fpring of our actions was to have the government of the state in our hands; that our principal views were the confervation of this power, great employments to ourselves, and great opportunities of rewarding those who had helped to raile us, and of hurting those who stood in opposition to us. It is however true, that with these considerations of private and party interest there were others intermingled, which had for their object the public good of the nation, at least what we took to be fuch? and to amitab Quarta site leads ! north

WE WE

WE looked on the political principles, which had generally prevailed in our government from the revolution in one thoufand fix hundred and eighty eight, to be destructive of our true interest, to have mingled us too much in the affairs of the continent, to tend to the impoverishing our people, and to the loofening the bands of our constitution in church and state. We supposed the tory party to be the bulk of the landed interest, and to have no contrary influence blended into it's composition. We supposed the whigs to be the remains of a party, formed against the ill defigns of the court under king CHARLES the fecond, nurfed up into

into strength and applied to contrary uses by king WILLIAM the third, and yet still so weak as to lean for support on the presbyterians and the other fee taries, on the bank and the other corporations, on the Dutch and the other allies, go From hence we judged it to follow; that they had been forced, and must continue fo, to render the national interest subservient to the interest of those who lent them an additional Arength, without which they could never be the prevalent party. The view, therefore, of those amongst us, who thought in this manner, was to improve the l queen's favor to break the body of the whigs, to render their supports uselefs Ba

less to them, and to fill the employments of the kingdom, down to the meanest, with tories. We imagined that such meafures, joined to the advantages of our numbers and our property, would fecure us against all attempts during her reign; and that we should foon become too considerable, not to make our terms in all events which might happen afterwards: concerning which, to fpeak truly, I believe few or none of us had any very fettled resolution. Specific some a weathered.

In order to bring these purposes about. I verily think that the persecution of dissenters entered into no man's head. By the

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Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 23 the bills for preventing occafional conformity and the growth of schism, it was hoped that their sting would be taken away. These bills were thought necessi fary for our party interest, and belides were deemed neither unreasonable nor unjust. The good of fociety may require, that no person should be deprived of the protection of the government on account of his opinions in religious matters; but it does not follow from hence, that men ought to be trusted in any degree with the preservation of the establishment, who must, to be consistent with their principles, endeavour the subversion of what is established. An indulgence to conscien-B 4 ces,

tobit.

ces, which the prejudice of education and long habits have rendered scrupulous, may be agreeable to the rules of good policy and of humanity: yet will it hardly follow from hence, that a government is under any obligation to indulge a tenderness of conscience to come; or to connive at the propagating of these prejudices, and at the forming of these habits. The evil effect is without remedy, and may therefore deferve indulgence; but the evil cause is to be prevented, and can, therefore, be intitled to none. Besides this, the bills I am speaking of, rather than to enact any thing new, feemed only to enforce the observation of antient

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 25 tient laws; which had been judged necessary for the security of the church and state at a time, when the memory of the ruin of both, and of the hands by which that ruin had been wrought, was fresh in the minds of men.

THE bank, the east-india company, and in general the moneyed interest, had certainly nothing to apprehend like what they seared, or affected to sear from the tories, an entire subversion of their property. Multitudes of our own party would have been wounded by such a blow. The intention of those, who were the warmest, seemed to me to go no farther than restrain-

restraining their influence on the legislature, and on matters of state; and finding at a proper feafon means to make them contribute to the support and ease of a government, under which they enjoyed advantages fo much greater than the rest of their fellow subjects. mischievous consequence which had been foreseen, and foretold too, at the establishment of those corporations, appeared visibly. The country gentlemen were vexed, put to great expences and even baffled by them in their elections: and among the members of every parliament numbers were immediately or indirectly under their influence. The bank had been extravagant in flor

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 27 gant enough to pull off the mask; and, when the queen feemed to intend a change in her ministry, they had deputed fome of their members to represent against it. But that which touched fenfibly even those who were but little affected by other confiderations, was the prodigious inequality between the condition of the moneyed men and of the rest of the nation. The proprietor of the land, and the merchant who brought riches home by the returns of foreign trade, had during two wars, bore the whole immense load of the national expences; whilst the lender of money, who added nothing to the common flock, throve by

by the public calamity, and contributed not a mite to the public charge.

her mailing they

As to the allies, I faw no difference of opinion among all those who came to the head of affairs at this time. Such of the tories as were in the fystem abovementioned, fuch of them as deferted foon after from us. and fuch of the whigs as had upon this occasion deserted to us, feemed equally convinced of the unreasonableness, and even of the impossibility, of continuing the war on the fame difproportionate foot. Their universal sense was, that we had taken, except the part of the States General, the whole burden

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 29 den of the war upon us, and even a proportion of this; while the entire advantage was to accrue to others: that this had appeared very grofly in one thousand seven hundred and nine and one thousand seven hundred and ten, when preliminaries were infifted upon, which contained all that the allies, giving the greatest loose to their wishes, could defire, and little or nothing on the behalf of Great Britain: that the war, which had been begun for the fecurity of the allies, was continued for their grandeur; that the ends proposed, when we engaged in it, might have been anfwered long before, and therefore that the first favorable occasion

cafion ought to be seised of making peace; which we thought to be the interest of our country, and which appeared to all manikind, as well as to us, to be that of our party.

These were in general the views of the tories: and for the part I acted in the profecution of them, as well as of all the measures accessory to them, I may appeal to mankind. To those, who had the opportunity of looking behind the curtain, I may likewise appeal for the difficulties which lay in my way, and for the particular discouragements which I met with. A principal load of parliamentary and foreign affairs in their ordinary course lay upon

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 31 upon me sythe whole negotiation of the peace, and of the troublesome invidious steps preliminary to it, as far as they could be trapfacted at home, were thrown upon me. I Continued in the house of commons during that important session which preceded the peace; and which, by the spirit shewn through the whole course of it, and by the refolutions taken in it, rendered the conclusion of the areaties practicable. After this I was dragged into the house of lords in fuch a manner; as to make my promotion a prinifiment, not a reward , and was there left to defend the treaties almost alone on yellow by no en al Afficial time "San Joosu" squ

10 4 4

Ir would not have been hard to have forced the earl of Ox-FORD to use me better de His good intentions began to be very much doubted of: the truth is; no opinion of his fincerity had ever taken root in the party and, which was worse perhaps for a man in his station, the opinion of his capacity began to fall apace. He was so hard pushed in the house of lords in the beginning of one thousand seven hundred and twelve, that he had been forced, in the middle of the fession, to persuade the queen to make a promotion of twelve peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious meafure, to be excused by nothing but the necessity, and hardly by

Sir WALLIAM WINDHAM. by that In the house of commons his credit was low, and my reputation very high. You know the nature of that affemi bly they grow, like hounds, fond of the man who thews them game, and by whose halloo they are used to be encouraged: The thread of the negotiations, which could not fland fill a moment without going back, was in my hands : hand before another man could have miade hims felf mafter of the bufmels, much time would have been loft, and great inconveniencies would have followed oil Some s who opposed the edurt foon after, began to waver then : and life I had not wanted the inclination, I should have wanted no dielp to do mil-

duct:

chief.

chief. I knew the way of quitting my employments and of retiring from court when the fervice of my party required it: but I could not bring myfelf up to that refolution, when the confequence of it must have been the breaking my party, and the distress of the public affairs. I thought my mistress treated me ill: but the fense of that duty which I owed her came in aid of other confiderations, and prevailed over my refentment. These sentiments, indeed, are fo much out of fashion, that a man who avows them is in danger of palling for a bubble in the world: yet they were, in the conjuncture I speak of, the true motives of my conduct;

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 35 duct; and you faw me go on as chearfully in the troublelome and dangerous work affigured me, as if I had been under the utmost satisfaction. I began, in deed, in my heart, to renounce the friendship, which till that time I had preserved inviolable for Oxford. I was not aware of all his treachery, nor of the base and little means which he employed then, and continued to employ afterwards, to ruin me in the opinion of the queen, and every where elfe. I law, however, that he had no friendihing for any body, and that with respect to me, instead of having the ability to render that merit, which I endeayoured to acquire, an addition of strength to himfelf.

Sir WPILA TVT ENTLANT felf, it became the object of his jealouly, and a reason for understanding me. In this temper of mind I went on, till the great work of the peace was confummated, and the treaty figned at Utrecht: after which a new and more melancholy feene for the party, as well as for me, opened itielf. of all his treachery, nor of the base and little means which he employed them and continued the mand continued the means and continued the means of the means of the means and continued to employ after varies, to run me to employ after varies, to run me to the month of the mean of the means and the many were conditionally the means of t back felf,

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 37 back on this great event, paffed as it is, without a lecret emo-tion of mind; when I compare the valencis of the undertaking, and the importance of it's fuc-cels, with the means employed to bring it about, and with those which were employed to travelle it. To adjust the pretentions and to lettle the interests of fo many princes and states, as were engaged in the late war, would appear, when considered simply and without any adventitious difficulty, a work of prodigious extent. But this was not all. Each of our allies thought himself entitled to raise his demands to the most extravagant height. They had been encouraged to this, first, by the engagements which we had entered into with feveral of them, with some to draw them into the war, with others to prevail on them to continue it; and, fecondly, by the manner in which we had treated with France in seventeen hundred nine and ten. Those who intended to tie the knot of the war as hard, and to render the coming at a peace as impracticable as they could, had found no method fo effectual as that of leaving every one at liberty to infift on all he could think of, and leaving themselves at liberty, even if these concessions should be made, to break the treaty by ulterior demands. That this was the fecret, I can make no doubt after the confession

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 39 fession of one of the plenipotentiaries who transacted these matters, and who communicated to me and to two others of the queen's ministers an instance of the duke of MARIBOROUGH's management at a critical moment, when the french ministers at Gertrudenberg seemed inclinable to come into an expedient for explaining the thirty seventh article of the preliminaries, which could not have been refused. Certain it is, that the king of FRANCE was at that time in earnest to execute the article of PHILIP's abdication: and there fore the expedients for adjusting what related to this article would eafily enough have been

Buys pensionary of Amsterdam. III

40 MALETTERIVO found, if on our part there had been a real intention of concluding. But there was no fuch intention: and the plan of those who meant to prolong the war was established among the allies, as the plan which ought to be followed whenever a peace came to be treated. The allies imagined that they had a right to obtain at least vevery thing which had been demanded for them respectively and it was visible that hothing less would be ontent them. "Thefe confiderations fet the valtness of noishin a bhi ghikarishnu hailt i ore the expedients for a hall

in the work of the peace, was

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 41 equally great to Europe, to our country, to our party, to our persons, to the present age, and to future generations. But I need not take pains to prove what no man will deny. The means employed to bring it about were in no degree proportionable. A few men, fome of whom had never been concerned in bufiness of this kind before, and most of whom put their hands for a long time to it faintly and timoroully, were the instruments of it. The minister who was at their head shewed himself every day incapable of that attention, that method, that comprehension of dif-ferent matters, which the first post in fuch a government as Bubago

ours requires in quiet times. He was the first spring of all our motion by his credit with the queen, and his concurrence was necessary to every thing we did by his rank in the state: and yet this man feemed to be fometimes afleep, and fometimes at play. He neglected the thread of bufiness; which was carried on for this reason with less dispatch and less advantage in the proper channels: and he kept none in his own hands. He negotiated, indeed, by fits and starts, by little tools, and indirect ways: and thus his activity became as hurtful as his indolence; of which I could produce some remarkable inflances. No good effect could flow from fuch a conduct.

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 42 conduct. In a word, when this great affair was once engaged, the zeal of particular men in their several provinces drove it forward, tho they were not backed by the concurrent force of the whole administration, nor had the common helps of advice till it was too late, till the very end of the negotiations; even in matters, fuch as that of commerce, which they could not be supposed to understand. That this is a true account of the means used to arrive at the peace, and a true character of that administration in general, I believe the whole cabinet council of that time will bear me witness. Sure I am, that most of them have joined with me in lamenting this State

## A LETTER to

flate of things whilst it subsisted, and all those who were employed as ministers in the several parts of the treaty selt sufficiently the difficulties which this strange management often reduced them to. I am consident they have not forgot them.

Ir the means employed to bring the peace about were fee-ble, and in one respect contemptible, those employed to break the negotiation were strong and formidable. As soon as the first suspicion of a treaty's being on soot crept abroad into the world, the whole alliance united with a powerful party in the nation to obstruct it. From that hour to the moment the congress of U-trecht

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 45. trecht finished, no one measure possible to be taken was omitted to traverse every advance that was made in this work, to intimidate, to allure; to embarrais every person concerned in it. This was done without any regard either to decency or good policy : and from hence it foon, followed, that passion, and humor mingled themselves on each fide another great part of what we did for the peace, and of what; others did against it, can be act. counted for on no other principle. allies were nbroke among, themselves before they began to treat with the com mon enemy The matter did, not mend in the course of the treaty : and France and Spain but the

but especially the former, profited of this distance.

ted to traverie

WHOEVER makes the comparison, which I have touched upon, will fee the true reasons which rendered the peace less answerable to the success of the war, than it might, and than it ought to have been. Judget ment has been passed in this case, as the different passions or interests of men have inspired them. But the real cause lay in the constitution of our minfftry, and much more in the obstinate opposition which we met with from the whigs and from the allies. However, fure it is, that the defects of the peace did not occasion the desertions from the

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 47
the tory party which happened
about this time, nor those disorders in the court which immediately followed.

Long before the purport of the treaties could be known, those whigs, who had set out with us in seventeen hundred and ten, began to relapse back to their party. They had among us shared the harvest of a new ministry, and like prudent persons they took measures in time to have their share in that of a new government.

THE whimsical or the handver tories continued zealous in appearance with us, till the peace was signed. I saw no people

48 MAHUE TO THE IR I TO WE lo eager for the conclusion of it Some of them \* were in fuch hafte, that they thought, any peace preferable to the leaft, delay, and omitted no instances to quicken their friends who were actors in it. As foon as the treaties were perfected and laid before the parliament, the scheme of these gentlemen bea gan to disclose itself centirely. Their love of the peace dike other passions, copled by in joyment. They grew nice about the construction of the articles. could come up to po direct approbation, and, being let into the fecret of what was to happen, would not preclude in them, felves from the glorious advanwas digneral s'as ward no people 0 4 tage

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 49 tage of rifing on the ruins of their friends and of their party.

THE danger of the fuccession, and the badness of the peace, were the two principles on which we were attacked. On the first, the whimfical tories joined the whigs, and declared directly az gainst their party. Altho nothing is more certain than this truth, that there was at that time no formed defign in the party, whatever views fome particular men might have, against his majesty's accession to the throne, On the latter, and most other points, they affected a most glorious neutrality nos had only blis he had been bredy and on those

INSTEAD of gathering strength,

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ged him to speak of business, was absolutely unintelligible, place yet ball live absolute to bead add

WHETHER this man ever had any determined view besides that of raising his family is, I believe, a problematical question in the worldain My opinion is, that he never had any other. The conduct of a minister, who propoles to himself a great and no ble object, and who purfues it steddily, may feem for a while a riddle to the world; especially in a government like ours, where numbers of menog different in their characters, and different in their interests, are at all times to benmanaged newhere public affairs are exposed to more accid dents and greater hazards than Aftendies in

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in other countries; and where, by confequence, he who is at the head of business will find himself often distracted by meafures which have no relation to his purpose, and obliged to bend himself to things which are in: fome degree contrary to his main defign. The ocean which environs us is an emblem of our government : and the pilot and the minister are in similar citcumstances. It seldom happens that either of them can steen a direct course, and they both arrive at their port by means which frequently feem to carry them from it. But as the work advances, the conduct of him who leads it on with real abilities clears up, the appearing inconfiftencies

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. fiftencies are reconciled, and when it is once confummated, the whole shews itself so uniform. fo plain, and fo natural, that every dabler in politics will be apt to think he could have done the fame. But on the other hand, a man who propofes no fuch object, who fubilitutes artifice in the place of ability, who, instead of leading parties, and governing accidents, is eternally agitated backwards and forwards by both, who begins every day something new, and carries nothing on to perfection, may impole a while on the world but a little fooner or a little later the mystery will be revealed, and nothing will be found to be couched under it but a thread

D 3 of

of pitiful expedients, the ultimate end of which never extended farther than living from day
to day. Which of these pictures
resembles Oxford most, you
will determine. I am forry to
be obliged to name him so often; but how is it possible to
do otherwise while I am speaking of times wherein the whole
turn of affairs depended on his
motions and character?

I HAVE heard, and I believe truly, that when he returned to Windfor in the autumn of seventeen hundred and thirteen, after the marriage of his son, he pressed extremely to have him created duke of Newcastle or earl of Clare: and the queen presuming

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 38 ing to helitate non lo extraordinary a propolaty he referred this hefitation in a imainer which the the became siman who had beait for lately raised by the profusion of her favors upon him. b. Certain it is, that he hegan then to forwa fill greater remissies in all parts of his ministry, and to affect to fay, that from fuch le time, the very time I am speaking of, the took no there in the direction of affaits, or words to I never knew a man softosted of obeing the bubble of his dif-He pretended to have difcovered pintrigues which were fet on foot against him, land particularly he complained of the advantage which was taken of his absence, during the journey he made -ton

made at his fon's marriage, uto undermine him with the queen. He is naturally inclined to be lieve the worst; which I take to be a certain mark of a mean spirit and a wicked foul at leaf Lam fure that the contrary quality, when it is not due to weak ness of understanding, is the fruit of a generous temper, and an honest heart. Prone to judge ill of all mankind, he will rarely be seduced by his credulity; but I never knew a man fo capable of being the bubble of his diftrust and jealousy. He was so in this case, althouthe queen, who could not be ignorant of the truth, faid enough to unde ceive him. But to be undeceive ed, and to own himself for was not

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 37 not his play. He hoped by cunning to varnish over his want of faith and of ability. He was defirous to make the world impute the extraordinary part, or, to fpeak more properly, the no part, which he acted with the Staff of treasurer in his hand to the queen's withdrawing her fai vor from him, and to his friends abanddning whime pretences utterly groundless when the first made which the which the brought to be realest laft backven the winter before the mqueen's death, when bifis credit began to wain apace, he might have regained it; hedmight have reconciled himself persectly with all his antient friends, and have acquired the confidence of the whole lone

wholed party. I fay, he might have done all this whecause if am perfuaded that none of those I have named were to convinced of his perfidy, for jaded with his yoke, or, formuch piqued personally against him, as I was: and yet if he would have exerted himself in concert with us, to improve the few advantages which were left as, and to ward off the visible danger which threatened our perfons and our party, I would have stifled my private animolity, and would have acted under him with as much zeal as ever. But he was uncapable of taking fuch a turn. The fum of all his policy had been to amuse the whigs, the tories, and the jacobites pas long whole

long is he could, and to keep his power as long as he amused them and when it became impossible to antise mankind any longer, the appeared plainly at the end of his line.

Brown fecret correspondence with the late earl of HALIEAK, and by the intrigues of his brother, and other fanatical relations, he had endeavoured to keep force hold on the whigs of his order and

the rocies at that there ampled

him at first by the heat of a revolution in the ministry, by their
hatred of the people who were
discarded, and by the fond hopes
which it is easy to give at the
setting out of a new administration.

60 MALLETTER to id tion. Afterwards he held yout the peace in prospect to them, and to the jacobites, separately, as an event which must be brought about before he could effectually ferve either. You cannot have forgot how things which we preffed were put off, upon every bccasion, till the peace: the peace was to be the date of a new ada ministration, and the period at which the millenary year of toryism should begin. W Thus were the tories at that time amused: and fince my exile I have had the opportunity of knowing certainly and circumstantially that the jacobites were treated in the fame manner, and that the pretender was made, through the french minister, to expect that meafures

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 60 measures should be taken for his restoration, as soon as the peace had rendered them practicable. He was to attempt nothing, his partisans were to lie still, Oxroan undertook for all.

was made towards completing the

AFTER many delays, fatal to the general interest of Europe, this peace was figned: and the only confiderable thing which he brought about afterwards was the marriage I have mentioned above; and by it an accession of riches and honor to a family; whose estate was very mean, and whose illustration before this time I never met with any where, but in the vain discourses which he used to hold over claret. If he kept his word with any of the TOVE

the parties abovementioned, it must be supposed that he did so with the whigs; for as to us, we faw nothing after the peace but increase of mortification and nearer approaches to ruin. Not a step was made towards completing the fettlement of Europe, which the treaties of Utrecht and Radflat left imperfect; towards fortifying and establishing the tory party; towards fecuring those, who had been the principal actors in this administration, against future events. We had proceeded in a confidence that thefe things should immediately follow the conclusion of the peace: he had never, I dare swear, entertained a thought concerning them. As foon as the last hand was given

given to the fortune of his family, he abandoned his mistres,
his friends, and his party, who
had bore him so many years on
their shoulders: and I was present when this want of faith was
reproached him in the plainest
and strongest terms by one of
the honestest men in Britain,
and before some of the most t
considerable tories. Even his
impudence failed him on this occasion: he did not so much as
attempt an excuse.

He could not keep his word which he had given the pretender and his adherents, because he

Dit Lord Trever to toming

Duke of Ormond, lord Anglesey, lord Harcourt, and myself, in Oxford's lodgings in St. James's house.

had formed no party to support him in such a design. He was sure of having the whigs against him if he made the attempt, and he was not sure of having the tories for him.

In this state of confusion and distress, to which he had reduced himself and us, you remember the part he acted. He was the fpy of the whigs, and voted with us in the morning against those very questions which he had penned the night before with WALPOLE, and others He kept his post on terms which no man but he would have held it on, neither fuhmitting to the queen, nor complying with his friends. He would not, or he could liver

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 64 could not act with us; and he resolved that we should not act without him, as long as he could hinder itied The queen's health was very precarious, and at her death he hoped by these means to deliver us up, bound as it were hand and foot, to our adversaries. On the foundation of this merit he flattered himself that he had gained some of the whigs, and foftened at least the rest of the party to him. By his fecret negotiations at Hanover, he took it for granted, that he was not only reconciled to that court, but that he should, under his present majesty's reign, have as much credit as he had enjoyed under that of the queen He was weak enough to boat of this,

this, and to promise his good offices voluntarily to feveral to for no man was weak enough to think them worth being folicited. sIn a word, you must have heard that he answered to lord DARTMOUTH and to Mr. BROM-LEV, that one should keep the privy feal, and the other the feals of fecretary; and that lord Cow-PER makes no scruple of telling how he came to offer him the feals of chancellor. When the king arrived, he went to Greenwich with an affectation of pomp and of favor. Against his suspicious character, he was once in his life the bubble of his credulity: land this delution betrayed him into a punishment, more fevere in my fense than all which cul) has

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 67 has happened to him fince, or than perpetual exile; he was affronted in the manner in which he was presented to the king. The meanest subject would have been received with goodness, the most obnoxious with an air of indifference; but he was received with the most distinguishing contempt. This treatment he had in the face of the nation. The king began his reign, in this instance, with punishing the ingratitude, the perfidy, the infolence, which had been shewn to his predecessor. Oxford fled from court covered with fhame, the object of the derifion of the whigs, and of the indignation of the tories in in extricate the serios of elde, line, whon the negligence

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THE

THE queen might, if she had pleased, have saved herself from all those mortifications she met with during the last months of her reign, and her fervants and the tory party from those misfortunes which they endured during the same time; perhaps from those which they have fallen into fince her death. When The found that the peace, from the conclusion of which she expected ease and quiet, brought still greater trouble upon her; when she saw the weakness of her government, and the confusion of her affairs increase every day; when she faw her first minister bewildered and unable to extricate himself or her; in fine, when the negligence of his 2.1

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 69 his public conduct, and the fauciness of his private behaviour had rendered him insupportable to her, and she took the resolution of laying him afide, there was a strength still remaining fufficient to have supported her government, to have fulfilled in great part the expectations of the tories, and to have constituted both them and the ministers in such a situation as would have left them little to appre-Some defigns were indeed on foot which might have produced very great disorders: Oxford's conduct had given much occasion to them, and with the terror of them he endeavoured to intimidate the queen. But expedients were

E 3 not

No people ever were in fuch a condition as ours continued to be from the autumn of one thoufand feven hundred and thirteen, to the fummer following. The queen's health funk every day. The

The attack which the had in the winter at Windfor ferved as a warning both to those who with ed, and to those who seared her death, to expect it. The party which opposed the court had been continually gaining strength by the weakness of our administration; and at this time their numbers were vastly encreased, and their spirit was raised by the near prospect of the succession taking place. We were not at liberty to exert the strength we had, We faw our danger, and many of us faw the true means of avoiding it; but whilf the magic wand was in the fame hands, this knowledge ferved only to increase our uneafiness; and, whether we would or no, we Show

we were forced with our eyes open to walk on towards the precipice. Every moment we became less able, if the queen lived, to support her govern ment; if she died, to secure ourselves. One side was united in a common view, and acted upon an uniform plan: the other had really none at all. We knew that we were out of favor at the court of Hanover, that we were represented there as jacobites, and that the elector, his present majesty, had been rendered publicly a party to that oppolition, in spight of which we made the peace: and yet we neither had taken, nor could take in our present circumstances, any measures to be better or worfe

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 73 worse there. Thus we languished till the twenty seventh of July one thousand seven hundred and sourteen, when the queen dismissed the treasurer. On the friday sollowing, she fell into an apoplexy, and died on sunday the first of August.

You do me, I dare fay, the justice to believe, that whilst this state of things lasted I saw very well, how little mention soever I might make of it at the time, that no man in the ministry, or in the party, was so much exposed as my self. I could expect no quarter from the whigs, for I had deserved none. There were persons amongst them for whom I had great

great efteem and friendship; yet neither with these, nor with any others, had I preserved a secret correspondence, which might be of use to me in the day of diff tress: and besides the general character of my party, I knew that particular prejudices were entertained against me at Hanover. The whigs wanted nothing but an opportunity of attacking the peace, and it could hardly be imagined that they would Stop there. In which case I knew that they could have hold on no man fo much as myself: the instructions, the orders, the memorials had been drawn by me, the correspondence relating to it in France, and every where elfe, had been carried on by me; in Dient

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 75. in a word, my hand appeared; to almost every paper which, had been writ in the whole course, of the negotiation. To all these confiderations I added that of the weight of personal resentment, which I had created against myself at home and abroad: in part unavoidably by the share I was obliged to take in these affairs; and in part, if you will, unnecessarily by the warmth of my temper, and by some unguarded expressions, for which I have no excuse to make, but that which TACITUS makes for his father-in-law, Julius Agri-COLA: " honestius putabam of-" fendere, quam odiffe."

HAVING this prospect of being

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 77 have time and means to provide for our future fafety: if the queen died and left us in the fame unfortunate circumstances, I expected to fuffer for and with the tories; and I was prepared for it.

THE thunder had long grumbled in the air; and yet when the bolt fell, most of our party appeared as much furprised as if they had had no reason to expect it. There was a perfect calm and universal submission through the whole kingdom. The chevalier indeed fet out as if his design had been to gain the coast and to embark for Great Britain; and the court of France made a merit to them-

felves'

felves of stopping him and obliging him to return. But this, to my certain knowledge, was a farce acted by concert, to keep up an opinion of his character, when all opinion of his caufe feemed to be at an end. He owned this concert to me at Bar, on the occasion of my telling him that he would have found no party ready to receive him, and that the enterprise would have been to the last degree extravagant. He was at this time far from having any encouragement: no party, numerous enough to make the least difturbance, was formed in his favor. On the king's arrival the ftorm arose. The menaces of the whigs, backed by forne ve-

ry

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 79
ry rash declarations, by slittle circumstances of humor which frequently offend more than real
injuries, and by the entire change
of all the persons in employment,
blew up the coals.

but on real credit and (ablian

At first many of the tories had been made to entertain some faint hopes that they would be permitted to live in quiet. I have been assured that the king left Hanover in that resolution. Happy had it been for him and for us if he had continued in it; if the moderation of his temper had not been overborne by the violence of party, and his and the national interest facrificed to the passions of a few. Others there were among the tories who had

had flattered themselves with much greater expectations than these, and who had depended, not on fuch imaginary favor and dangerous advancement as was offered them afterwards, but on real credit and fubstantial power under the new government. Such impressions on the minds of men had rendered the two houses of parliament, which were then fitting, as good courtiers to king George, as ever they had been to queen ANNE. But all these hopes being at once and with violence extinguished, despair succeeded in their violence of bank, and himoor

Our party began foon to act like men delivered over to their passions,

the national interest during

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 81 paffions, and unguided by any other principle; not like men fired by a just resentment and a reasonable ambition to a bold undertaking. They treated the government like men who were resolved not to live under it: and yet they took no one meafure to support themselves against it. They expressed, without referve or circumspection, an eagerness to join in any attempt against the establishment which they had received and confirmed, and which many of them had courted but a few weeks before: and yet in the midft of all this bravery, when the election of the new parliament came on, fome of these very men acted with the coolness of

Desto

those

these who are much better different a just resent the area area area bold reaction to bold reaction to bold reaction to bold.

The body of the tories being in this temper, it is not to be wondered at, if they heated one another, and began apace to turn their eyes towards the pretender: and if those few, who had already engaged with him, applied themselves to improve the conjuncture, and endeavoured to lift a party for him.

I WENT, about a month after the queen's death, as foon as the feals were taken from me, into the dountry; and whilst I continued there, I felt the general disposition to jacobitism in crease

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 83 crease daily among people of all ranks; among feveral who had been constantly distinguished by their aversion to that cause. But at my return to London in the month of February or March one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, a few weeks before 191 left England, I began for the first time in my whole life to perceive these general dispositions ripen into refolutions, and to obferve fome regular workings among many of our principal friends, which denoted a scheme of this kind. These workings, indeed, were very faint; for the persons concerned in carrying them on did not think it lafe to speak too plainly to men, who were, in truth, ill disposed to the

the government, because they neither found their account at present under it, nor had been managed with art enough to leave them hopes of finding it hereafter; but who at the same time had not the least affection for the pretender's person, nor any principle favorable to his interest.

This was the state of things when the new parliament, which his majesty had called, assembled. A great majority of the elections had gone in favor of the whigs; to which the want of concert among the torics had contributed as much, as the vigor of that party, and the influence of the new government.

The

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 85 The whigs came to the opening of this parliament full of as much violence as could possess men who expected to make their court, to confirm themselves in power, and to gratify their refentments by the fame measures. I have heard that it was a difpute among the ministers, how far this spirit should be indulged; and that the king was determined, or confirmed in a determination, to confent to the profecutions, and to give the reins to the party, by the reprefentations that were made to him; that great difficulties would arife in the conduct of the feffion if the court should appear inclined to check this fpirit, and by Mr. W-'s under-F 3 taking

fuccessfully through the house of commons is they were at liberty. Such has often been the unhappy fate of our princes: a real necessity sometimes, and sometimes a seeming one, has forced them to compound with a part of the nation at the expence of the whole; and the success of their business for one year has been purchased at the price of public disorder for many.

THE conjuncture I am speaking of affords a memorable instance of this truth. If milder measures had been pursued,
certain it is, that the tories had
never universally embraced jacobitism. The violence of the
whigs

whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender The court and the partybildemed to vie with one another which should go the greatest lengths in fever rity-chand the ministers, whose true interest it must at all times be to calm the minds of them; and who ought hever to fet the examples of extraordinary inquiries or extraordinary accufations, were upon this occasion the tribunes of the people offinitib ym

part of what paffed in that coun THE council of regency, which began to fit as foon as the queen died, acted like a council of the holy office. Whoever looked on the face of the nation faw every thing quiet; not one of those symptoms appearing which must F

must have shewn themselves more or less at that moment, if, in reality, there had been any meafures taken during the former reign to defeat the protestant fuccession. His majesty ascended the throne with as little contradiction and as little trouble, as ever a fon fucceeded a father in the possession of a private pat trimony. But he, who had the opportunity, which I had till my dismission, of seeing a great part of what passed in that council, would have thought that there had been an opposition actually formed, that the new eftablishment was attacked openly from without, and betrayed from within.

come and confidential temporal designs

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 89

The same disposition continued after the king's arrival. This political inquisition went on with all the eagerness imaginable in seising of papers, in ransacking the queen's closet, and examining even her private letters. The whigs had clamored loudly, and affirmed in the face of the world, that the nation had been fold to France, to Spain, to the pretender: and whilst they endeavoured in vain, by very fingular methods, to find some color to justify what they had advanced without proof, they put themselves under an absolute necessity of grounding the most folemn prosecution on things, whereof they might indeed have proof, but which which would never pais for crimes before any judges, but fuch as were parties at the fame time.

malle in tilling of papers, in In the king's first speech from the throne, all the inc flaming hints were given, and all the methods of violence were chalked out to the two houses. The first steps in both were perfectly answerable: and, to the shame of the peerage be it spoken, I saw at that time several lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular resolutions. Among feveral bloody resolutions proposed and agitated at this time, the resolution of i siet se

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 91 of impeaching me of high treafon was taken; and I took that of leaving England, not in a panic terror improved by the artifices of the duke of MARL-BOROUGH, whom I knew even at that time too well to act by his advice or information in any case, but on such grounds as the proceedings which foon followed fufficiently justified, and as I have never repented building upon: Those who blamed it in the first heat were soon after obliged to change their language: for what other resolution could I take? The method of profecution designed against me would have put me immediately out of condition to act for myfelf, or to ferve those who were less exposed

exposed than me, but who were, however, in danger. On the other hand, how few were there on whose affistance I could depend, or to whom I would, even in those circumstances, be obliged? The ferment in the nation was wrought up to a confiderable height; but there was at that time no reason to expect that it could influence the proceedings in parliament in favor of those who should be accused. Left to it's own movement, it was much more proper to quicken than flacken the profecutions: and who was there to guide it's motions? The tories who had been true to one another to the last were an handful, and no great vigor could he

I told the fact to the bishop of ROCHESTER that night or the next day. I the month of sint an local course

94 A LETTER to 112 course needed no commentary, and proved to me, that I had never erred in the judgment T made of this let of men. Could I then resolve to be obliged to them, or to suffer with Ox-FORD? As much as I still was heated by the disputes in which I had been all my life engaged against the whigs, I would sooner have chose to owe my security to their indulgence, than to the affiftance of the whimficals: but I thought banishment, with all her train of evils, preferable to either. 1 abhorred Oxforb to that degree, that I could not bear to be joined with him in any case. Nothing perhaps contributed fo much to determine me as this fentiment. A fense

of

of honor would not have permitted me to diffinguish between
his case and mine own: and
it was worse than death to he
under the necessity of making
them the same, and of taking
measures in concert with him.

at which I left England, and have finished the first part of that deduction of facts which I proposed to lay before you. I am hopeful that you will not think it altogether tedious or undecessary: for althovery little of what I have said can be new to you, yet this summary account will enable you with greater case to recal to your memory the passages of those four

an immediate and necessary connection.

In what has been faid I am far from making my own panegyric. I had not in those days fo much merit as was ascribed to me: nor fince that time have I had so little as the same persons allowed me. I committed without dispute many faults; and a greater man than I can pretend to be, constituted in the same circumstances, would not have kept clear of all: but with respect to the tories I committed none. I carried the point of party-honor to the height, and facrificed every thing

to my attachment to them during this period of time. Let us now examine whether I have done to during the reft of the or be an or be included, and one of the order of the content.

Warm Indriged in France, about the end of March one thousand seven hundred and fife teens the affairs of England were represented to me in another light, than I had feen them in when I dooked upon them with my dwn eyes very few weeks before sil found the perfons; who were detached to speak with me, i prepared to think that I came over to negotiate for the pretender: and when they perceived that I was more ignorant than they imagined, I was affured by them, that there would

This management surprised mei extremely at In the answers I made, I endeavoured to det

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 99 the mistake right; to shew that things were far from the point of maturity imagined; that the chevalier had yet no party for him, and that nothing could form one but the extreme vios lence which the whige threatened to exercise no Great endead vours were used to engage me in this affair, and to prevail on me to answer the letter of invitation fent me from Bar. I alledged, as it was true, that I had no commission from any person in England, and that the friends I left behind me were the only perions who could determine me, soils any couldy to take fuch a flep. As to the last proposition, Diablolutely Irefuscobite-engagements, and I . icho m G 2 IN

In In the uncertainty of what would happen, whether the profecutions would be pushed, which was most probable, in the manner intended against Ime, and against others, for all of whom, except the earl of Oxford, I had as much concern as for myfelf; or whether the whigs would telent, drop some, and soften the fate of others; I refolved to conduct myfelf fo, as to create no appearance which might be strained into a pretence for hard ulage, and which might be retorted on my friends when they debated for me, non when they defended themselves. I faw the earl of Stare, I promised him that I would enter into no jacobite-engagements, and I kept T my

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 101
my word with him. I writ a
letter to Mr. fecretary STANHOPE,
which might take off any imputation of neglect of the government; and I retired into
Dauphine to remove the objection of residence near the court
of France.

neo I amin tandi ode avi and

This retreat from Paris was centured in England, and styled a desertion of my friends and of their cause: with what foundation let any reasonable man determine. Had I engaged with the pretender before the party acted for him, or required of me that I should do so, I had taken the air of being his man; whereas I looked on myself as theirs: I had gone

gone about to bring them into his measures; whereas I never intended, even since that time, to do any thing more than to make him as far as possible act conformably to their views.

of France

During the short time I continued on the banks of The Rhone, the profecutions were carried on at Westminster with the utmost violence, and the ferment among the people was risen to such a degree, that it could end in nothing better, it might have ended in some thing worse, than it did. The measures which I observed at Paris had turned to no account; on the contrary, the letter which I writ 0 3 O'CHILL

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 103 I write to Mr. fecretary STAN-HOPE was quoted as a base and fawning fubmiffion and what I intended as a mark of respects to the government, and ay fervice to my friends, was perverten ed to ruin me in the iopinion of the latter. The act of attainder, in confequence of my. impeadhment, had passed against me for crimes of the blacket dye and among other induces ments to passity my having been engaged in the pretender's intereft was one. How well founded this article was, has already appeared: I was just as guilty of the rest. The correspondence with me was, you know, neither frequent nor fafe, visil heard feldom and darkly from Timbu G 4 you;

1041 MALEITTER HOW HE you; and the I faw well enough which way the current ran, yet I was entirely ignorant of the measures you took, and of the use you intended to make of me. I contented myself, there fore, with letting you all know, that you had but to command me; and that Inwas ready to venture in your service the dita the which remained, as trankly as I had exposed all which was gone. MAtellaft your commands came, and I shall shew you in mwhat wmanner do executed ed this article was, has almeds appeared: of wastjuft as guile -billipperson! who was fent to me arrived in the beginning of July, one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, at the place YOU; where

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. where I was He fpoke in the name of all the friends whole authority could influence me, and he brought me word that Scotland was not only ready to take arms, but under fonie fort of diffatisfaction to be withheld from beginning; that in England the people were exasperated against the government to fuch a degree, that, far from wanting to be encouraged, they could anot be reflinided bfrom infulting it on every noccasion; that the whole tory party was become avowedly jacobite; that many officers of the army, and the majority of the foldiers were very well affected to the cause; that the city of London was ready to rife, and that the enterprifes dam c

prifes for feifing of feveral places were ripe for execution: in a word, that most of the principal tories were in a concert with the duke of ORMOND, for I had pressed particularly to be informed ed, whether his grace acted alone, or if not, who were his count eil; and that the others were fo disposed, that there remained no doubt of their joining as foon as the first blow should be strucky He added, that my friends were a little furprifed to observe that I lay neuter in fuch a conjunct ture. He represented to me the danger I ran of being prevent ed by people of all fides from having the merit of engaging early in this enterprise; and how unaccountable it would be for a man

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 107 a man impeached and attainted under the present government, to take no share in bringing about a revolution fo near at hand and fo certain. He rentreated that I would defer no longer to join the chevalier; to advise and affift in carrying on his affairs, and to folicit and negotiate at the court of France, where my friends imagined that I should not fail to meet with a favorable reception, and from whence they made no doubt of receiving affiftance in a fituation of affairs fo critical, fo unexpected, and fo promising. He concluded by giving me a letter from the pretender, whom he had feen in his way to me, in which I was pressed to repair without loss of time

time to Commercy: and this instance was grounded on the message, which the bearer of the letter had brought me from my friends in England. Since he was fent to me, it had been more proper to have come directly where I was: but he was in haste to make his own court, and to deliver the affurances which were entrusted to him. Perhaps too he imagined that he should tie the knot faster on me by acquainting me, that my friends had actually engaged for themselves and me, than by barely telling me that they defired I would engage for myfelf tender, whom he had be

In the progress of the conversation

his which to me, in which I was

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 100 versation he related a multitude of facts, which fatisfied me as to the general disposition of the people; but he gave me wittle fatisfaction as to the measures taken for improving this dispofition, for driving the business on with vigor if it tended to a revolution, or for supporting it with advantage lift its fpun vinto a war. When I questioned him concerning several persons whose difinclination to the government admitted of no doubt, and whole names, quality, and experience were very effential to the fuccels of the undertaking, he owned to me, that they kept a great referve, and did at most but encourage others to act, by general and dark expressions of doider I RE-

I RECEIVED this account and this furnmens ill in my bed; yet important as the matter was: a few minutes ferved to determine me. The circumstances wanting to form a reasonable inducement to engage did not efcape me. But the fmart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein and I looked on my party to be under oppression, and ton call for my affiftance Besides which, I considered first that I should certainly be informed, when I conferred with the chevalier, of many particulars unknown to this gentlemang for I did not imagine that you could be fo near to take arms. as he represented you to be on no other foundation than that which 3

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 111 which he exposed: and second ly, that I was obliged in honor to declare, without waiting for a more particular information of what might I be expected from England; fince my friends had taken their resolution to declare, without any previous affurance of what might be expected from France. Mi This Mecond motive weighed extremely with me at that time : there is however more found than fenfe intit, and it contains nther original derror to which allipour fubfequent er rors and the thread of misfortunes which followed are to be more circumstantial nor.badirals to go upon, then what I had My resolution thus taken, I lost no stime in repairing to contained Commercy.

## HE MAHLET TERIO 13

Commercy. The very first conversations with the chevalier and swered in no degree my expectations: and I affine you with great truth, that I began even then, if not to repent of my own rathness, yet to be fully convinced both of yours and mine.

who expected every moment to fet out for England or Scotland; but who did not very well know for which and when he entered into the particulars of his affairs. I found that concerning the follower he had nothing more circumstantial nor positive to go upon, than what I had already heard. The advices which were sent from thence contained

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 113 contained fuch affurances of fuccess, as it was hard to think that men, who did not go upon the furest grounds, would prefume to give. But then there affurances were general, and the authority seldom satisfactory. Those which came from the best hands were verbal, and often conveyed by very doubtful meffengers; others came from men whose fortunes were as desperate as their counsels; others came from persons whose fituation in the world gave little reason to attend to their judgment in matters of this kind.

THE duke of ORMOND had been for fome time, I cannot fay how long, engaged with the

the chevalier. He had taken the direction of this whole affair, as far as it related to England, upon himself, and had received a commission for this purpose, which contained the most ample powers that could be given. After this, one would be apt to imagine, that the prin-ciples on which the pretender should proceed, and the tories engage in this service, had been laid down; that a regular and certain method of correspondence had been established; that the necessary assistances had been specified, and that positive asfurances had been given of them. Nothing less. In a matter as ferious as this, all was loofe and abandoned to the disposition of fortune.

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 116 fortunen. The first point had never been touched upone by what I have faid above you fee how little care was taken of the feeond and has to the third, the duke had afked a fmull bo dy of regular forces, a fum of money, and a quantity of arms and ammunition. He had been told in answers by the country France that he must absolutely despair soft any number of troops whatever be but he had been made in general to hope for forme money, forme tarms, and fome ammunition : la dietle fum had, Inthink, been advanded to himsel In a case to plain as this, it is hard to conchive how any man could err. The affiftances demanded from

H 2 • France

## 116 ALETTER to 12

France at this time, and leven greater than thefe, will appear, in the sequel of this relation, by the fense of the whole party to have been deemed effentially net ceffary to stucces. bad no lubhoda uncertainty therefore, whether even these could be obtained; or rather with fo much reason to apprehend that they could hot it was evident that the tories ought to have lain stills They might have helped the ferment against the government, about should have avoided with the utmost care the giving any alaim, or even suspicion of their trule defign, and have refunded for not refumed it as the chevalier was able or not able to provide the troops, the arms, the money,

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 117 ney ) &cc. bo Infleat of which those who were at the head of the undertaking, and therefore answerable for the measures which were purfued, fuffered the bufiness to jog metrily on. They knewe in general show little dependence was tooke placed on foreign succour, sibut acted as if they had been fore off it: while the party were rendered fanguine by their passions, and made no doubt of subverting a government they were angry with both one and the other made as much builte, and gave as great alarm, as would have been imprudent even at the eve of a general infurrection. This appeared to me to be the flate of things with respect to England, H 3 Scot

118 MA LETTERION 118

land, when I arrived at Commercy. And the error of we should errolered these guidestelland ent

no The Scots had dong preffed the chevalier to come amongst them, and had of late fent frequent messages to quicken his departure, formet of which were delivered in terms much more zealous than respectful to The truth is, they feemed in as much hafte to begin, as if they had thought themselves able to do the work alone; as if they had been apprehensive of no danger but that of feeing it taken out of their hands, and of having the honor of it shared by others. However, that which was wanting on the part of England was not wanting in Scotland !! the band Scots

Scots talked aloud, but they were in a condition to rife. They took little care to keep their intentions fecret, but they were disposed to put those intentions into immediate execution, and thereby to render the secret no longer necessary. They knew upon whom to depend for every part of the work, and they had concerted with the chevalier even to the place of his landing.

THERE was need of he great fagacity to perceive how undated qual such foundations were to the weight of the building defigned to be traifed on them. The Scots with all their real and all their valor could bring the second the second bring the second the second

no revolution about, unless in concurrence with the English and among the latter nothing was ripe for fuch an undertaking but the temper of the people, if that was fo. I thought therefore that the pretender's friends in the north should be kept from rising, till those in the fouth had put themselves in a condition to act; and that in the mean while the utmost endeavours ought to be used with the king of FRANCE to espouse the cause to and that a plan of the defign, with a more particular specification of the fuccours defired, as well as of the time when, band the place to which they should be conveyed, ought to be writ for all which, I was OU

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 121 I was told by the marshal of BERWIC, who had the principal direction at that time of these affairs in France, and I dare fay very truly, had been often afked but never fent. I looked on this enterprise to be of the nature of those which can hardly be undertaken more than once: and I judged that the fuccess of it would depend on timing, as near as possible, together the infurrection in both parts of the island, and the fuccours from hence. The pretender approved this opinion of mine. He instructed me accordingly: and I left Lorain, after having accepted the feals much against my inclination. I made one condition with him. It was this: that

that I should be at liberty to quit a station, which my humor and many other considerations made me think myself very unfit for, whenever the occasion upon which I engaged was over, one way or other: and I desire you to remember that I did so.

Laska rada a da boobai a bas

I ARRIVED at Paris towards the end of July one thousand seven hundred and sisteen. You will observe that all I was charged with, and all by consequence that I am answerable for, was to solicit this court, and to dispose them to grant us the successful to make the attempt, as soon as we should know certainly from England in what

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 122 what it was defired that these fuccours should confist, and whither they should be fent. Here I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what feemed good in his own eyes : no fubordination, no ofder, no concert. Persons concerned in the management of these affairs upon former occafions have affured me, this is always the case. It might be fo to some degree; but I believe never for much as now. The jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the fuccels of the present designs as infallible. Every meeting-house which the populace demolished, ever ry little drunken fiot which happened, ferved to confirm them

and there was hardly one amongst them who would lose the air of contributing by his intrigues to the restoration, which, he took it for granted, would be brought about, without him, in a very few weeks.

Care and hope fat on every bufy irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to shew, and those who had not arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry. Fanny Oglethorpe, whom you must have seen in England, kept her corner in it, and Olive Trant was the great wheel of our machine.

I IMAGINE

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 125 I I IMAGINE That this picture, the lines of which are not in the least too strong, would serve to represent what passed on your fide of the water at the fame time. The letters which came from thence feemed to me to contain rather fuch things as the writers wished might be true, than fuch as they knew to be fo: and the accounts which were fent from hence were of the fame kind. The vanity of some, and the credulity of others supported this ridiculous correspondence; and I question not but very many persons, some fuch I have known, did the fame thing from a principle which they took to be a very wife one: they imagined that they helped by thefe means

## 126 MALLETTERINO

means to maintain and to increase the spirit of the party in England and France They acted like THOAS, that turbulent actolian, who brought ANt тлосния into Greece з " qui " bus mendaciis de rege, mul-" tiplicando verbis copias ejus " erexerat multorum in Graecia " animos; iisdem et regis spem inflabat, omnium votis eum arcessi. Thus were num bers of people employed under a notion of advancing the builnels, or from an affectation of importance, in amufing and flattering one another, and in founding the alarm in the ears of an enemy, whom it was their interest to surprise. The government of England was put on it's sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 127
it's guard: and the necessity of acting or of laying aside with some disadvantage all thoughts of acting for the present, was precipitated, before any measures necessary to enable you to act had been prepared, or almost thought of act had been prepared, or almost thought of act had been prepared, or almost thought of act had been prepared.

Is his majesty did not, till some short time after this, declare the intended invasion to parliament, it was not for want of information. Before I came to Paris, what was doing had been discovered. The little armament made at the Havre, which furnished the only means the chevalier then had for his transportation into Britain, which had exhausted the treasury of St. Germains,

## 128 A LETTER to

mains, and which contained all the arms and ammunition that could be depended upon for the whole undertaking, the they were hardly sufficient to begin the work even in Scotland, was talked of publicly! Administer less alert and less capable than the earl of STAIR would eafily have been at the bottom of the fecret, for fo it was called, when the particulars of messages received and fent, the names of the persons from whom they came, and by whom they were carried, were whilpered about at tea-tables and in coffee houses.

In short; what by the indifcretion of people here, what by the rebound which came often back

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 129 back from London, what by the private interests and ambitious views of persons in the french court, and what by other causes unnecessary to be examined now, the most private transactions came to light: and they, who imagined that they trusted their heads to the keeping of one or two friends, were in reality at the mercy of numbers. Into fuch company was I fallen, for my fins: and it is upon the credit of fuch a mob ministry, that the tories have judged me capable of betraying a truft, or inca? Whether is gaiganthe principal

I HAD made very little progress in the business which brought me to Paris, when

the paper so long expected was fent, in pursuance of former instances, from England. The unanimous fense of the principal persons engaged was contained in it. The whole had been dictated word for word to the gentleman, who brought it over, by the earl of MAR, and it had been delivered to him by the duke of Omnond. I was driving in the wide ocean without a compass, when this dropped unexpectedly into my hands. I received it joyfully, and I steered my course exactly by it. Whether the persons from whom it came purfued the principles, and observed the rules which they laid down as the measures of their own conduct and of ours.

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 131
ours, will appear by the fequel
of this relation.

sylvichic opinious many landung the

THIS memorial afferted, that there were no hopes of fueceeding in a prefent undertaking, for many reasons deduced in it, without an immediate and universal rifing of the people in all parts of England upon the chevalier's arrival; and that this infurrection was in no degree probable unless he brought a body of regular troops along with him : that, if this attempt milcarried, his cause and his friends, the english liberty and governmenta would be utterly ruined: but, if by coming without troops he resolved to risque these and every thing else, he must fet out

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for

fo as not to arrive before the end of September, O. S. to justify which opinion many arguments were urged. In this case twenty thousand arms, a train of artillery, five hundred officers with their fervants, and a confiderable fum of money were demanded: and as foon as they should be informed that the chevalier was in condition to make this provision, it was faid that notice should be given him of the places to which he might fend, and of the persons who were to be trufted. I do not mention fome inconveniencies which they touched upon arifing from a delay; because their opinion was clearly for this delay, and because that they could not

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 133 not suppose that the chevalier would act, or that those about him would advise him to act, contrary to the fense of all his friends in England. No time was loft in making the proper use of this paper. As much of it as was fit to be shewn to this court was translated into French, and laid before the king of FRANCE. I was now able to speak with greater assurance, and in some fort to undertake conditionally for the event of to go. They grant the sagnish

The proposal of violating treaties, so lately and so solemnly concluded, was a very bold one to be made to people, whatever their inclinations might be,

134 A LETTERIO whom the war had reduced to the lowest ebb of riches and power, They would not hear of a direct and open engagement, fuch as the fending a body of troops would have been; neither would they grant the whole of what was asked in the fecond plan. But it was impossible for them, or any one elfe, to foresee how far those steps which they were willing to take, well improved, might have encouraged or forced them to go. They granted us fome fuccours, and the very ship in which the pretender was to transport himself was fitted out by DEPINE D'ANICANT at the king of FRANCE's expence. They would have concealed these appearances

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 435 pearances as much as they could; but the heat of the whigs and the refenement of the court of England might have drawn them in. We should have been glad indirectly to concur in fixing these things upon them: and, in a word, if the late king had lived fix months longer, I verily believe there had been war again between England and France. This was the only point of time when these affairs had, to my apprehension, the least reasonable appearance even of possibility: all that preceded was wild and uncertain: all that followed was mad and desperate. But this favorable aspect had an extreme short duration. Two events foon happened, one IA

had word, if the late king had

We had founded the duke's name high. His reputation and the opinion of his power were great. The French began to believe that he was able to form and to head a party; that the troops would join him; that the nation would follow the fignal whenever he drew his fword; and the voice of the people, the echo of which was continually in their ears, confirmed them in this belief. But when, in the midst

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 137 midst of all these bright ideas, they faw him arrive, almost literally alone, when, to excuse his coming, I was obliged to tell them, that he could not stay; they funk at once from their hopes: and that which generally happens happened in this case; because they had had too good an opinion of the cause, they began to form too bad an one. Before this time, if they had no friendship for the tories, they had at least some consideration and esteem. After this, I faw nothing but compassion in the best of them, and contempt in the others.

WHEN I arrived at Paris, the king was already gone to Marly, where

like of the well as for the l

where the indisposition which he had begun to feel at Versailles increased upon him. He was the best friend the chevalier had: and when I engaged in this business, my principal dependence was on his personal character. This failed me to a great degree: he was not in a condition to exert the fame vigor as formerly. The ministers, who faw fo great an event as his death to be probably at hand, a certain minority, an uncertain regency, perhaps confusion, at best a new face of government and a new system of affairs, would not, for their own fakes, as well as for the fake of the public, venture to engage far in any new measures. All I had

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 130 I had to negotiate by myself first, and in conjunction with the duke of ORMOND foon afterwards, languished with the king. My hopes funk as he declined, and died when he expired. The event of things has fufficiently shewn that all those, which were entertained by the duke and the jacobite party under the regency, were founded on the groffest delusions imaginable. Thus was the project become impracticable before the time arrived, which was fixed by those, who directed things in England, for putting it in exe-cution.

THE new government of France appeared to me like a strange

strange country. I was little acquainted with the roads. Most of the faces I met with were unknown to me, and I hardly understood the language of the people. Of the men who had been in power under the late reign, many were discarded, and most of the others were too much taken up with the thoughts of fecuring themselves under this, to receive applications in favor of the pretender. The two men who had the greatest appearance of favor and power were D'AGUESSEAU and NoAILLES. One was made chancellor, on the death of Voisin, from attorney general; and the other was placed at the head of the treafury. The first passes for a man

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 141 a man of parts, but he never acted out of the sphere of the law: I had no acquaintance with him before this time; and when you consider his circumstances and mine, you will not think it could be very easy for me to get access to him now. The latter I had known extremely well whilft the late king lived; and from the fame court print ciple, as he was glad to be well with me then, he would hardly know me now. The minifter who had the principal direction of foreign affairs I lived in friendship with, and I must own to his honor, that he never encouraged a defign, which he knew that his court had no intention of supporting. drive tom

<sup>\*</sup> M. D'HUXELLES.

THERE

THERE were other perfons, not to tire you with farther particulars upon this head, of credit and influence, with whom I found indirect and private ways of converting: but it was in vain to expect any more than civil language from them, in a case which they found no difposition in their master to countenance, and in favor of which they had no prejudices of their own. The private engagements into which the duke of Or-LEANS had entered with his majesty, during the life of the late king, will abate of their force as the regent grows into ftrength, and would foon have had no force at all if the pretender had met with fuccess: but in these begin-

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 142 beginnings they operated very ftrongly. The air of this court was to take the counterpart of all which had been thought right under Lewis the four teenth. Cela refemble trop " à l'ancien système," was an answer so often given, that it became a jeft, and almost a proverb. But to finish this account with a fact which is incredible, but strictly true; the very peace, which had faved France from rein, and the makers of it, were become as unpopular at this court, as at the court of Vienna.

THE duke of ORMOND flattered himself in this state of things, that he had opened a private and and fure channel of arriving at the regent, and of bending him to his purposes. His grace and I lived together at this time in an house which one of my friends had lent me. I observed that he was frequently loft, and that he made continual excursions out of town, with all the myfterious precaution imaginable. I doubted at first, whether these intrigues related to business or pleasure. I soon discovered with whom they were carried on, and had reason to believe that both were mingled in them. It is neceffary that I explain this fecret to you.

MRS. TRANT, whom I have named above, had been pre-

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 144 paring herfelf for the retired abo flemious life of anticarmelite, by takingva furfeit; of the pleafules of Paris of when a slittle before the ideath sofathe queenya or an bout sthat time; he went into Englander What the was entrulte ediogeither byotherchevalier, vor any other person, to negotiate there, and am vignorable of mand it imports met much to know; In that journey flic made or frenewed an acquaintance with the duled of Onicon The Scant dalous chronicle affirms, that the brought with her, when the returned into France, //a woman,

She used to pretend a resolution of turning oun. She is since married to the duke of Boull on's brother, who was too much dishonored by his former life, to be so even by this candalous match.

a spirit

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of

of whom I have not the least knowledge, but who was probably handsome; fince without beauty fuch a merchandife would not have been faleable, nor have answered the design of the importer: and that the made this way her court to the regent Whatever her merit was, the kept a correspondence with him, and put herfelf upon that foot of familiarity, which he permits all those, who contribute to his pleafures, to affume. She was placed by him, as she told me herself, where I found her forme time af ter that which I am freaking of, in the house of an antient gentlewoman, who had formerly been maid of honor to Madame, and who had contracted at court a spirit

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 147 a spirit of intrigue, which accompanied her in her retreat.

Wortender's defigns. As tellis THESE two had affociated to them the abbé de Testeu, in all the political parts of their bufiness; for I will not suppose that fo reverend an ecclefiastic entered into any other fecret. This abbé is the regent's fecretary: and it was chiefly through him that the private treaty had been carried on between his master and the earl of STAIR in the king's reign. Whether the priest had stooped at the lure of a cardinal's hat, or whether he acted the second part by the same orders that he acted the first, I know not. This is fure, and the british minister was not the bubble of it,

that whilst he concerted measures on one hand to traverse the
pretender's designs, he testissed
on the other all the inclination
possible to his service. A mad
fellow, who had been an intendant in Normandy, and several
other politicians of the lowest
form, were at different times
taken into this famous junto.

WITH these worthy people his grace of Ormond negotiated; and no care was omitted on his part to keep me out of the secret. The reason of which, as far as I am able to guess at, shall be explained to you by and by. I might very justly have taken this proceeding ill, and the duke will not be able to find in

in my whole conduct towards him any thing like it: I protest to you very sincerely I was not in the least moved at it.

HE advanced not a step in his business with these sham ministers, and yet imagined that he got daily ground. I made no progress with the true ones, but I saw it. These, however, were not our only difficulties. We lay under another, which came from your side, and which embarrassed us more. The first hindered us from working forward to our point of view, but the second took all point of view from us.

A PAPER was fent into Eng-

land just before the death of the king of FRANCE, which had been drawn by me at Chaville in concert with the dukes of ORMOND and BERWIC, and with monfieur de Torcy. This paper was an answer to the memorial received from thence. The state of this country was truly represented in it: the difference was fixed between what had been asked, and what might be expected from France; and upon the whole it was demanded what our friends would do, and what they would have us to do? The reply to this came through the french fecretary of flate to our hands. They declared themselves unable to fay any thing, till they should see what turn affairs would

would take on so great an event as the death of the king, the report of which had reached them.

Such a declaration thut our mouths and tied our hands. I confess I knew meither how to folicit, nor what to folicit; this last message suspending the project on which we had acted before, and which I kept as an instruction constantly before my eyes. It feemed to me uncertain, whether you intended to go on, or whether your defign was to stifle, as much as possible, all past transactions; to lie perfectly still; to throw upon the court the odium of having given a false alarm, and to wait till K 4

142 MA LEIT TEIR INOV 12 till new accidents at home and a more favorable conjuncture as broad, might tempt you to oce fume the enterprise. Perhaps this would have been the wifest game you could have played: but then, you should have concerted it with us who acted for you here. You intended no fuch thing, as appeared afterwards: and therefore those who acted for the party at London, whoever they were, must be deemed inexcufable for leaving things on the foot of this message, and giving us no advice fit to be depended upon for many weeks. Whilt preparations were to be made, and the work was to be fet a going by affiftance from hence, you might reasonably expect to hear from

from us, and to be determined by us: but when all hopes of this kind feemed to be gone, it was your part to determine us, and we could take no resolution here, but that of conforming ourselves to whatever should come prescribed from England.

Whilst we were in this condition, the most desperate that can be imagined, we began to receive verbal messages from you, that no more time was to be lost, and that the chevalier should come away. No man was, I believe, ever so embarrassed as I found myself at that time. I could not imagine that you would content yourselves by loose verbal messages, after all that had happened,

penedicto call us lover; and I knew by experience how little fuch messages are to be depended on. For, foon after I engaged in these affairs, a monk arrived at Bar, dispatched, as he affirmed, by the duke of Ormons, in whose name he insisted that the chevalier should hasten into Britain, and that nothing but his presence was wanting to place the crown on his head. The fellow delivered his errand so positively, and fo circumstantially, that the resolution was taken at Bar to fet out, and my rendezvous to join the chevalier was appointed me. This method to fetch a king, with as little ceremony as one would invite a friend to fupper, appeared fomewhat odd bened

odd to me, who was then very new in these affairs. But when I came to talk with the man, for by good luck he had been sent for from Bar to Paris, I easily discerned that he had no such commission as he pretended to, and that he acted of his own head. I presumed to oppose the taking any resolution upon his word, tho he was a monk: and soon after we knew from the duke of Ormond himself, that he had never sent him.

This example made me cautious; but that which determined my opinion was, that I could never imagine, without supposing you all run mad, that the same men who judged this attempt

that the fathe brent of favil from

tempt unripe for execution, unless supported by regular troops from France, or at least by all the other affiltances which are enumerated above, while the defign was much more fecret than at present; when the king had no fleet at fea, nor more than eight thousand men dispersed over the whole island; when we had the good wishes of the french court on our fide, and were fure of some particular assistances, and of a general connivance; that the same men, I say, should press for making it now without any other preparation, when we had neither money, arms, ammunition, nor a fingle company of foot; when the government of England was on it's guard,

guard, national troops were raifed, foreign forces fent for, and France, like all the reft of the continent, against us of levould not conceive such a strange combination of accidents as should make the necessity of acting increase gradually upon us las the means of doing so dwere taken from us. or or begunded do dwere taken

Oron the whole matter, my opinion was, and I did not obferve the duke of Okwono to differ from me, that we should wait fill we heard from you in such a manner, as might affine us of what you intended to do yourselves, and of what you expected from us; and that in the mean while we should go as far

had, and the little favor which was shewn us would allow, in getting some embarkations ready on the coast.

bination of accidence as should SIR GEORGE Byng had come into the road of Havre, and had demanded by name several ships which belonged to us, to be given up to him. The regent did not think fit to let him have the ships; but he ordered them to be unloaded, and their cargoes were put into the king's magazines. We were in no condition to repair, the loss; and therefore, when I mention embarkations, you will please to understand nothing more than veffels to transport the pretender's person,

person, land the persons of those who thould go over with him.
This was all we could do, and this was not neglected.

WE were thus employed when a gentleman arrived from Scotland to represent the state of that country, and to require a definitive answer from the chevaliers whether he would have the infurrection to be made immediately nowhich they apprehended they might not be able to make at all if they were obliged to defer it much longer. This gentleman was fent instantly back again, and was directed to let the persons he came from know, that the chevalier was defirous to have the rifing of his friends in produce.

in England and Scotland folade justed, that they might mutually affift each other, land difficult the enemy; that he had not it ceived a final answer from his friends in Angland, burthar he was in daily expectation of sits that it was very much to be with ed, that all attempts in Scotland could be suspended the such time as the Buglish were ready; but that if the Scots were so presed that; they must either submitte rife immediately, the was of opt mon they should rife, land he would make the beft of his way tleman was fent infan mehr 61 againg and was directed to les.

What this forwardness in the Scots, and this uncertainty and backwardness in the English must produce,

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 161 produce, it was not hard to fore fee; and therefore, that I might neglect nothing in my power to prevent any false measures, as of was confcious to myfelf that I had neglected nothing to promote true ones, I dispatched a gentleman to London, where I fupposed the earl of Man to be fome days before the meffagel I have just spoken of was fent to Scotland T defired bin to make my compliments ato lord Maci and to tell him from me, that I understood it to beahis sense, as well as the sense of all our friends, what Scotland vould do nothing reffectually without the concurrences of a Englandy and that England would not flir without affiftance from abroad; that

he might assure himself no such assistance could be depended upon; and that I begged of him to make the inserence from these propositions. The gentleman went; but upon his arrival at London he sound that the earl of Max was already set out to draw the Highlanders into arms. He communicated his inessage to a person of considerace, who midertook to send it after his lordship; and this was the atmost which either he or I could do in such a conjuncture.

You were now visibly departed from the very scheme which you had sent us over, and from

fenfe of all our

F Mr. Lzwis, who belonged to the earl

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 162 all the principles which had been ever laid down. I did what I could to keep up my own fplrit, as well as the spirits of the chevalier, and of all those with whom I was in correspondence: I endeavoured even to deceive myfelf: I could not remedy the mischief, and I was resolved ed to fee the conclusion of the perillous adverture. But I own to you, that I thought then, and that I have not changed my opinion line, that fuch meafunds as these would mot be pursued, by any reasonable man, in the most common affairs of life. it was with the outmost astonishment that I faw them purfued in the conduct of an enterprise, which had for it's object nothing less whethe L 2

less than the disposition of crowns, and for the means of bringing it about nothing less than a civil war.

thing from England, when we expected every moment to hear that the war was begun in Scotland; the duke of Ormond and I refolved to fend a person of confidence to London. We instructed him to repeat to you the former accounts, which we had sent over, to let you know how destitute the chevalier was, either of actual support, or even of reasonable hopes; and to defire that you would determine

whether

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Ezechiel Hamilton: he got all the papers by heart.

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 164 whether he should go to Scotland or throw himself on some part of the english coast. This person was farther instructed to tell you, that, the chevalier being ready to take any refolution at a moment's warning, you might depend on his fetting out the instant he received your anfwer : and therefore that to fave time, if your intention was to rife, would do well to act immediately, on the affurance that the plan you prescribed, be it what lit would, should be exactly complied with. We took this resolution the rather, because one of the pacquets which had been prepared in cypher, to give you an account of things, which had been put above three weeks

Torce's hands, and which by consequence we thought to be in yours, was by this time fent back to me by this minister, I think open, with an excuse that the durst not take upon him to forward it. 13 sid no bace and the many bevisees and the hands.

don returned very foon to us, and the answer he brought was that since affairs grew daily worse, and could not mend by delay, our friends in England had refolved to declare immediately, and that they would be ready to join the chevalier on his landing: that his person would be

Lanspown gave this answer in the name of all the persons privy to the secret.

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 167
as fafe there as in Scotland, and that, in every other respect, it was better that he should land in England; that they had used their utmost endeavours, and that they hoped the western counties were in a good positive to receive stime. To this was added, a general indication of the place he should come to, as near to Plymouth as possible. New ment no stod enew stuor

Was not the answer of men who knew what they were about A little more precision was needs fary in dictating a message; which was to have such consequences; and especially since the gentleman equals not fail to acquaint the

168 MALLETVINER I tov 12 the persons he spoke with, that the chevalier was not able to carty men enough to fecure him from being taken up, even by the first constable. Notwithstanding this, the duke of Or-MOND let out from Paris, and the chevalier from Bar. Some persons were fent to the north of England, and others to London, ato give notice that they were both on their way. Their routs were fo ordered, that the duke of Ormonp was to fail from the icoast of Normandy fome days before the chevalier alrived at Stoil Malo, stouwhich place the duke was to fend immediate notice of his landing; and two gentlemen acquaint ed with the country, and perfoct-3017 ly

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 169
ly well known to all our friends
in those parts, were dispatched
before, that the people of Devonshire and Somersetshire, who
were, we concluded, in arms,
might be apprised of the signals
which were to be made from the
ships, and might be ready to receive the duke.

and affirmed him that there

On the coast of France, and before his embarkation, the duke heard that several of our principal friends had been seised, immediately after the person who came last from them had lest London; that the others were all dispersed; and that the consternation was universal. He embarked notwithstanding this melancholy news, and, supported

ed by nothing but the firmness of his temper, he went over to the place appointed: he did more than his part, and he found that our friends had done less than theirs. One of the gentlemen, who had passed over before him; and had traversed part of the country, joined him on the coaft, and affured him that there was not the least room to expect a rifing. In a word, he was refufed a night's lodging in a country which we had been told was in a good posture to receive the chevalier, and where the duke expected that multitudes would repair to him. bear ; boltochis ils

His returned to the coast of Britany after this uncomfortable expedition,

Remains was milvoring

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 171 expedition, where the chevalier arrived about the fame time from Lorain. of What his grace proposed by the second attempt, which he made as foon as the vessel could be refitted, to land in the same part of the island, I profess myself to be ignorant. I writ him my opinion at the time, and I have always thought, that the ftorm in which he had like to have been cast away, and which forced him back to the french doaft, faved him from a much greater peril, that of perishing in an attempt as full of extravagant rashness, and as void of all reasonable meaning, as any of those adventures which have rendered the hero of La Mancha immortal or mane is the home of

THE

THE chevalier had now but one of these two things left him to do, one was to return to Bar, the other was to go to Scotland, where there were people in arms for him. He took this last resolution. He left Britany, where he had as many ministers as there were people about him, and where he was eternally teifed with noify difputes about what was to be done in circumstances, in which no reasonable thing could be done. He fent to have a veffel got ready for him at Dunkirk, and he crossed the country as privately as he could. I reason be nother the to

WHILST all these things passed, I remained at Paris, to try if by any

of choic adventures which he is

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 173
any means fome affiftance might
be at last procured; without
which it was evident, even to
those who flattered themselves the
most, that the game was up.

No fooner was the duke of ORMOND gone from Paris, on the defign which I have mentioned, and Mrs. TRANT, who had accompanied him part of the way, returned, but I was fent for to a little house at Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, where the lived with mademoifelle de CHAUSsery, the antient gentlewoman with whom the duke of On-LEANS had placed her. Thefe two persons opened to me what had passed whilst the duke of ORMOND I was here, and the hopes

## 174 A LETTER to

hopes they had of drawing the regent into all the measures necessary to support the attempts which were making in favor of the chevalier.

By what they told me at first, I saw that they had been trusted; and by what passed in the course of my treating with them. it appeared, that they had the access which they pretended to All, which I had been able to do by proper persons and in proper methods, fince the king of France's death, amounting to little or nothing, I resolved, at last, to try what was to be done by this indirect way. I put myfelf under the conduct of these female managers; and, without having

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 174 having the same dependence on them as his grace of Ormono had, I pushed their credit and their power as far as they reached, during the time I continue ed to fee them. I met with fmoother language and greater hopes than had been given me hitherto. A note figured by the regent, supposed to be writ to a woman, but which was to be explained to be intended for the earl of Mar, was put into my hands to be fent to Scotland. I took a copy of it, which you may fee at the end of thefe papers . When Sir John Ares-KINE came to press for fuccour, the regent was prevailed upon by

thefe

This note has not been found among the author's papers.

176 ALLETTER Lev 12 these women to see him; but he carried nothing realeiback with him, except a quantity of gold, part of the money which we had drawn from Spain, and which was loft with the veffel, in a very odd manner, on the fcotch coaft. The duke of Ormond had been promised seven or eight thousand arms, which were drawn out of the magazines, and faid to be lodged, I think, at Compeigne. I used my utmost efforts that these arms might be carried forward to the coast, and I undertook for their transportation: but all was in vain; fo that the likelihood of bringing any thing to effect in time appeared to me no greater, than I had found it before I entered into this intrigue.

South

I soon

I soon grew tired of a commerce, which nothing but fuccess could render tolerable; and resolved to be no longer amused by the pretences, which were daily repeated to me, that the regent had entertained personal prejudices against me, and that he was infentibly, and by degrees, to be dipped in our meafures; that both thefe things required time, but that they would certainly be brought about, and that we should then be able to answer all the expectations of the English and the Scotch. The first of these pretences contained a fact, which I could hardly persuade myself to be true, because I knew very certainly, that I had ne-

never given his royal highness the least occasion for such prejudices: the fecond was a work which might spin out into a great and uncertain length. I took my resolution to drive what related to myself to an immediate explanation, and what related to others to an immediate decision; not to suffer any excuse for doing nothing to be founded on my conduct, nor the falvation, if I could hinder it, of fo many gallant men, as were in arms in Scotland, to rest on the fuccess of such womanish projects. I shall tell you what I did on the first head now, and what I did on the second hereafter in it's proper place.

knew very certainly, that I

THE fact, which it was faid the regent laid to my charge, was a correspondence with lord STAIR, and having been one night at his house, from whence I did not retire till three in the morning. As foon as I got hold of this, I defired the marshal of BERWIC to go to him. The marshal told him from me, that I had been extremely concerned, to hear in general, that I lay under his difpleasure; that a story, which it was faid he believed, had been related to me; that I expected the justice, which he could deny to no man, of having the accusation proved, in which case I was contented to pass for the last of human kind; or of being jufti-M 2 fied.

fied, if it could not be proved. He answered, that such a story had been related to him by fuch perfons as he thought would not have deceived him; that he had been fince convinced, that it was false, and that I should be fatisfied of his regard for me but that, he must own, he was very uneasy to find that I, who could apply to him through the marshal D'HUXELLES, could chuse to treat with Mrs. TRANT. and the rest; for he named all the cabal, except his fecretary, whom I had never met at mademoifelle Chaussery's. He added that these people teised him, at my instigation, to death; and that they were not fit to be trusted with any business. He ap-

applied to some of them the feverest epithets... The marshal of Berwic replied, that he was fure I should receive the whole of what he had been pleased to fay with the greatest satisfaction; that I had treated with those persons much against my will; and finally, that if his royal highness would not employ them, he was fure I would never apply to them. In a converfation which I had, not long after, with him, he spoke to me in much the same terms as he had done to the marshal. I went from him very ill edified as to his intentions of doing any thing in favor of the chevalier; but I carried away with me this fatisfaction, that he had M 3

affigned me, from his own mouth, the person through whom I should make my applications to him, and through whom I should depend on receiving his answers; that he had difavowed all the little politic clubs, and had commanded me to have no more to do with them.

BEFORE I resume the thread of my narration, give me leave to make fome reflection upon what I have been last faying to you. When I met with the duke of Ormond at his return from the coast, he thought himfelf obliged to fay fomething to excuse his keeping me out of a fecret, which during his absence

I had been let into. His excuse was, that the regent had exacted from him that I should know nothing of the matter. You will observe, that the account which I have given you feems to contradict this affertion of his grace, fince it is hard to suppose, that, if the regent had exacted that I should be kept out of the fecret, these women would have dared to have let me into it; and fince it is still harder to suppose, that the regent would make this express condition with the duke of Ormond, and, the moment the duke's back was turned, would fuffer these women to teise him from me, and to bring me answers from him. I am, however, far from M 4

from taxing the duke with affirming an untruth. I believe the regent did make fuch a condition with him: and I will tell you how I understand all this little management; which will explain a great deal to you. This prince, with wit and valor, has joined all the irrefolution of temper possible, and is, perhaps, the man in the world the least capable of saying no to your face. From hence it happened, that these women, like multitudes of other people, forced him to fay and do enough to give them the air of having credit with him, and of being trufted by him. This drew in the duke of Ormond, who is not, I date fay, as yet undeceived. The

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 185 regent never intended from the first, to do any thing, even indirectly, in favor of the jacobite cause. His interest was plainly on the other fide, and he faw it. But then the same weakness in his character carried him, as it would have done his great uncle Gaston in the same case, to keep measures with the chevalier. His double trimming character prevailed on him to talk with the duke of ORMOND: but it carried him no farther. I question not but he did, on this occasion, what you must have observed many men to do. We not only endeavour to impose on the world, but even on ourselves. We disguise our weakness, and work up in our minds an opinion

nion, that the measure, which we fall into by the natural or habitual imperfection of our character, is the effect of a principle of prudence, or of some other virtue. Thus the regent, who faw the duke of Ormond, because he could not resist the importunity of OLIVE TRANT, and who gave hopes to the duke, because he can refuse no body, made himself believe that it was a great strain of policy to blow up the fire, and to keep Britain embroiled. I am perfuaded that I do not err in judging that he thought in this manner; and here I fix the reafon of his excluding me out of the commerce which he had with the duke of ORMOND, of

of his affecting a personal diflike of me, and of his avoiding any correspondence with me upon these matters; till I forced myself in a manner upon him, and he could not keep me any longer at a distance without departing from his first principle, that of keeping measures with every body. He then threw me, or let me flide if you will, into the hands of these women; and when he found that I pressed him hard that way too, he took me out of their hands, and put me back again into the proper channel of business; where I had not been long, as you will fee by and by, before the scene of amusement was finished. Ism out bon sloots

Sir John Areskine told me, when he came from the first audience that he had of his royal highness, that he put him in mind of the encouragement which he had given the earl of Mar to take arms. I never heard any thing of this kind, but what Sir John let drop to me. If the fact be true, you fee that the scotch general had been amused by him with a witness. The english general was fo in his turn; and while this was doing, the regent might think it best to have him to himself. Four eyes comprehend more objects than two, and I was a little better acquainted with the characters of people, and the mass of the councountry, than the duke, the this court had been at first a strange country to me in comparison of the former.

conversation to me, that I me An infinity of little circumflances concurred to make me form this opinion, some of which are better felt than explained, and many of which are not prefent to my memory. That which had the greatest weight with me, and which is, I think, decifive, I will mention At the very time when it is pretended, that the regent treated with the duke of Ormonp on the express condition that I should know nothing of the matter; two \* persons of the first rank

<sup>\*</sup> Marshal D'Huxelles, marquis D'Er-

and greatest credit in this court, when I made the most preffing instances to them in favor of the chevalier, threw out in conversation to me, that I should attach myself to the duke of OR-LEANS, that in my circumstances I might want him, and that he might have occasion for me. Something was intimated of penfions, and establishment, and of making my peace at home. I would not understand this language, because I would not break with the people who held it : and when they faw that I would not take the hints, they ceased to give them.

FIAT: twenty five thousand pounds offered by the last.

I FANCY that you fee by this time the motives of the regent's conduct. I am not, I confess, able to explain to you those of the duke of ORMOND's: I cannot fo much as guess at them. When he came into France I was careful to shew him all the friendship, and all the respect possible. My friends were his, my purfe was his, and even my bed was his. I went further, I did all those things which touch most sensibly people who have been used to pomp. I made my court to him, and haunted his devee with affiduity. In return to this behaviour, which was the pure effect of my good will, and which no duty that I owed his grace, no ob-

obligation that I had to him, imposed upon me; I have great reason to suspect, that he went at least half way in all which was faid or done against me. He threw himfelf blindly into the fnare which was laid for him; and, inflead of hindering, as he and I, in concert, might have done, those affairs from languishing, in the manner they did feveral months, he furnished this court with an excuse for not treating with me, till it was too late to play even a faving game; and he neither drove the regent to affift the chevalier, nor to declare "that he would not affift him ontho it was fatal to the cause in gedo T neral,

neral, and to the Scotch in particular, not to bring one of the two about.

have him gone. Some of the

IT was christmas one thoufand feven hundred and fifteen before the chevalier failed for Scotland. The battle of Dunblain had been fought, the bufiness of Preston was over : there remained not the least room to expect any commotion in his favor among the English; and many of the Scotch, who had declared for him, began to grow cool in the cause. No profpect of fuccess could engage him in this expedition: but it was become necessary for his reputation. The Scotch on one fide spared not to reproach him, N

I think unjustly, for his delay; and the French, on the other, were extremely eager to have him gone. Some of those who knew little of british affairs imagined, that his prefence would produce miraculous effects. You must not be furprised at this. As mear neighbours as we are, ninety nine in an hundred among the French are as little acquainted with the inlide of our island, as with that of Japan. Others of them were uneasy to fee him skulking about in France, and to be told of it every hour by the earl of STAIR. Others again imagined, that he might do their business by going into Scotland, tho he should

not

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 195 not do his own: that is, they flattered themselves, that he might keep a war for some time alive, which would employ the whole attention of our government; and for the event of which they had very little concern. Unable from their natural temper, as well as their habits, to be true to any principle, they thought and acted in this manner, whilst they affected the greatest friendship to the king, and whilft they really did defire to enter into new and more intimate engagements with him. Whilft the pretender continued in France they could neither avow him, nor favor his cause: if he once fet his foot on Scotch ground, N 2

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Discourse of Abbé D'Estres, afterwards archbishop of Cambray.

† Marq. D'Huxelles.

As foon as I received advice that the chevalier was failed from Dunkirk, I renewed, I redoubled all my applications. I neglected no means, I forgot no argument which my understanding could suggest to me. What the duke of Or-MOND rested upon, you have seen already: and I doubt very much whether lord MAR, if he had been here in my place, would have been able to employ measures more effectual than those which I made use of. I may, without any imputation of arrogance, compare myfelf on this occasion with his lordship, since there was nothing in the management of this affair above my degree of N 3 cacapacity; nothing equal, either in extent or difficulty, to the business which he was a spectator of, and which I carried on, when we were secretaries of state together under the late queen.

THE king of FRANCE, who was not able to furnish the pretender with money himself, had writ some time before his death to his grandson, and had obtained a promise of sour hundred thousand crowns from the king of SPAIN. A small part of this sum had been received by the queen's treasurer at St. Germain's, and had been either sent to Scotland, or employed to defray the expences which were

were daily making on the coast. I pressed the spanish ambassador at Paris, I folicited, by LAWLESS, ALBEROND at Madrid ; and I found \* another more private and more promifing way of applying to him. I took care to have a number of officers picked out of the irilh troops, which ferve in that country; their routs were bis ven them, and I fent a thip to receive and transport them; The money came in fo flowly and in such trifling sums, that it turned to little zocount , and the officers were on their way when the chevalier returned from Scotland. To old news trigien

of the empire airprame of the construction of the had a the construction of the constr

In the fummer, endeavours had been used to prevail on the king of Sweden to transport, from Gottenburg, the troops he had in that neighbourhood into Scotland, or into the north of England. He had excused himself, not because he disliked the proposition, which, on the contrary, he thought agreeable to his interest : but for reasons of another kind. First, because the troops at hand for this fervice confifted in horse, not in foot, which had been asked, and which were alone proper for fuch an expedition: fecondly, because a declaration of this fort might turn the protestant princes of the empire, from whose offices he had still some prospect of

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 201 of affiftance, against him: and thirdly, because altho he knew that the king of GREAT BRITAIN was his enemy, yet they were not in war together, nor had the latter acted yet a while openly enough against him to justify fuch a rupture. At the time I am speaking of, these reasons were removed by the king of SWEDEN's being beat out of the empire, by the little confequence which his management of the protestant princes was to him, and by the declaration of war which the king as elector of Hanover made. I took up this negotiation therefore again. The regent appeared to come into it. He spoke fair to the baron de Spar, who pressed him

on his fide, as I pressed him on mine, and promifed, besides the arrears of the fubfidy due to the Swedes, an immediate advance of fifty thousand crowns for the enterprise on Britain. He kept the officer, who was to be dispatched, I know not how long booted; fometimes on pretence, that in the low flate of his credit he could not find bills of exchange for the furn, and fometimes on other pretences; and by these delays he evaded his promise. The French were very frank in declaring, that they could give us no money, and that they would give us no troops. Arms, ammunition, and connivance, they made us hope for. The latter in some deSir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 203

degree we might have had, perhaps; but to what purpose was it to connive, when by a multitude of little tricks they avoided furnishing us with arms and ammunition, and when they knew that we were utterly unable to furnish ourselves with them? I had formed the defign of engaging french privateers in the pretender's fervice. They were to have carried whatever we should have had to fend to any part of Britain in their first voyage, and after that, to have cruised under his commission. I had actually agreed for some, and it was in my power to have made the same bargains with others. Sweden on one fide, and Scotland on the other, would

would have afforded them retreats: and if the war had been kept up in any part of the mountains, I conceive the execution of this defign would have been of the greatest advantage to the pretender. It failed, because no other part of the work went on. He was not above fix weeks in his fcotch expedition, and thefe were the things I endeavoured to bring to bear in his absence. I had no great opinion of my fuccess before he went; but when he had made the last step which it was in his power to make, I resolved to suffer neither him nor the Scotch to be any longer bubbles of their own credulity, and of the scandalous artifice of this court. It would be tedious

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 205 to enter into a longer narrative of all the useless pains I took. To conclude therefore; in a conversation which I had with the M. D'HUXBLES, I took occasion to declare, that I would not be the instrument of amufing the Scotch; and that fince I was able to do them no other fervice, I would at least inform them, that they must flatter themselves no longer with hopes of succour from France. I added, that I would fend them vessels, which with those atready on the coast of Scotland might ferve to bring off the pretender, the earl of MAR, and as many others as possible. The marshal approved my resolution, and advised me to execute

it as the only thing which was left to do. On this occasion he fhewed no referve, he was very explicite; and yet in this very point of time, the promife of an order was obtained, or pretended to be obtained, from the regent, for delivering those stores of arms and ammunition which belonged to the chevalier, and which had been put into the french magazines when Sir GEORGE Byng came to Havre. CASTEL BLANCO is a Spaniard who married a daughter of lord MEL-FORD, and who under that title fet up for a medler in english business. I cannot justly tell whether the honor of obtaining this promise was ascribed to him,

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 207 to the junto in the bois de Boulogne, or to any one elfe. I suppose they all assumed a share of the merit. The project was, that these stores should be delivered to CASTEL BLANCO; that he should enter into a recognifance to carry them to Spain, and from thence to the West Indies; that I should provide a vessel for this purpose, which he should appear to hire or buy; and that when the was at sea she should fail directly for Scotland. You cannot believe that I reckoned much on the effect of this order: but accustomed to concur in meafures, the inutility of which I saw evidently enough, I concurred in this likewise. The

necessary care was taken, and in a fortnight's time the ship was ready to sail, and no suspicion of her belonging to the chevalier, or of her destination, was gone abroad.

As this event made no alteration in my opinion, it made none in the dispatches which I prepared and sent to Scotland. In them I gave an account of what was in negotiation. I explained to him what might be hoped for in time, if he was able to maintain himself in the mountains without the succours he demanded from France. But from France, I told him plainly, that it was in vain to expect the least part of them. In short,

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 209

fhort, I concealed nothing from This was all I could him. do to put the chevalier and his council in a condition to judge what measures to take: but these dispatches never came to his hands. He was failed from Scotland just before the gentleman, whom I fent, arrived on the coast. He landed at Graveline about the twenty second of February; and the first orders he gave, were to ftop all the veffels which were going on his account to the country from whence he came.

I saw him the morning after his arrival at St. Germains, and he received me with open arms. I had been, as foon as we heard

heard of his return, to acquaint the french court with it. They were not a little uneasy; and the first thing which the M. D'HUXELLES faid to me upon it was, that the chevalier ought to proceed to Bar with all the diligence possible, and to take possession of his former asylum before the duke of LORRAIN had time to defire him to look out for a residence some where else. Nothing more was meaned by this proposal than to get him out of the dominions of France immediately. I was not in my mind averse to it for other reasons. Nothing could be more disadvantageous to him than to be obliged to pass the Alpes, or to reside in the papal heard

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Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 211

territory on this fide of them. Arignost was already named for his vietreat in common conver fation; and I know not whether from the time he left Scotland, he ever thought of any other. I imagined, that by furpriffing the duke of LORRAIN we should furnish that prince with an excufe to the king, hand to the emperor inthat we might draw the matter linfo length, and gain time to negotiate forme other retreat, than that of Avig non, for the chevalier on The duke's good will there was fio room to doubt of; and by what the prince of Vaudemont told me at Paris fome time after wards, I want apt to think we should have solleded by and ter.

events

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events it could not be wrong to try every measure, and the pretender would have gone to Avignon with much better grace, when he had done, in the fight of the world, all he could to avoid it.

the duke of Lorrany we (bould

I FOUND him in no disputition to make such haste: he had a mind, on the contrary, to stay some time at St. Germains, and in the neighbourhood of Paris, and to have a private meeting with the regent. He sent me back to Paris to solicit this meeting. I writ, I spoke to the marshal D'Huxelles, I did my best to serve him in his own way. The marshal answered me by word of mouth, and by letter.

Sir WILEIAM WINDHAM. \$13 ter. He refused me by both. I remember he added this circumstance, that he found the regent sin bed, and acquainted him with what the chevalier defired; that the regent role up in a passion, said that the things which were asked were puerilities, and fwore that he would not fee him. I returned with out having been able to fucceed in my commission and, I con fels, I thought the want of fuer cels on this occasion no great tion and confidence .snutrofaim

on the funday or monday morning when I parted from the pretender He acquisiced in the determination of the regent,

O 3 and

and declared that he would instantly set but for Lorrain I his trunks were packed whis chaise was ordered to be at the dopr at five, and I sent to Paris to acquaint the minister that he was gone. He asked me how soon I should be able to follow him, gave me commissions for some things, which he desired I should bring after him and in a word, no Italian ever employed the manufacture show of affect the manufacture shows a show of a show of

Lorrain, who went touthe dittles
house in the bounded Boulogness
where his longle ministeres of
fided and there he continued
has a

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 215 lurking for feveral days, and pleasing himself with the air of mystery and business, whilst the should have had at that time, lay neglected. He law the spanish and fwedish ministers in this place. I cannot tell, for I never thought it worth asking, whether he law the duke of ORLEANS: possibly he might. To have been teiled into fuch a step, which fignified nothing, and which gave the cabal an air of credit and importance, is agreeable enough to the levity of his royal highness's character.

THE thursday following the duke of Ormond came to see me, and after the complement of O 4 tel-

telling me, that he believed I should be surprised at the mesfage he brought, he put into my hands a note to himself, and a little scrip of paper directed to me, and drawn in the ftyle of a justice of peace's warrant. They were both in the chevalier's hand-writing, and they were dated on the tuesday, in order to make me believe that they had been writ on the road, and fent back to the duke: his grace dropped in our converfation, with great dexterity, all the infinuations proper to confirm me in this opinion, I knew at this time his mafter was not gone; so that he gave me two very rifible scenes, which are frequently to be met with when

when some people meddle in business; I mean that of seeing a man labor with a great deal of aukward artifice to make a secret of a nothing, and that of seeing yourself taken for a bubble when you know as much of the matter, as he who thinks

that he imposes on you.

I CANNOT recellect precisely
the terms of the two papers.
I remember that the kingly laconic style of one of them, and
the expression of having no farther occasion for my service,
made me smile. The other
was an order to give up the papers in my office; all which
might have been contained in a
letter-case of a moderate size. I
gave

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gave the duke the feals, and forme papers which I could readily come at. Some others, and indeed all fuch as I had not destroyed, I fent afterwards to the chevalier and I took care to convey to him, by a safe hand, several of his letters, which it would have been very improper the duke should have seen. ain furprised that he did not reflection the confequence of my obeying this order literally. 121 depended on me to have thewn his general what an opinion the chevalier Had of his capacity. 1911 seed the trick; and would not appear piqued, when I was far from being angry. As I gave up, without scruple, all the papers which remained in gave my

Sir WHLEIAM WENDHAM. 219 my hands, because I was determined never to make use of them; for I confess to you; that I took a forgrof pride in never afking for those of mine which were fin the pretender's hands; I contented myfelf with making the duke understand how little need there was to get vid of a manging this manner, who had made therbargain which I had done attimporengagenient; and with taking this first opportunit ty totaledare, that I would nee ver micre have no do with the by othersalula zithemediabnararq diately in the world, and found dinaril I might avoid being tedgrai shiotrphabanashbacifloop mast durious suid thermast babal ling town in the world beclated what 10

what had passed to three or four of my friends, and hardly ftirred abroad, during a fortnight, out of a little lodging which very few people knew of. At the end of this term the marshal of Berwic came to fee me, and asked me what I meaned, to confine my felf to my chamber, when my name was trumpeted about in all the companies of Paris, and the most infamous stories were spread concerning me. This was the first notice I had, and it was foon followed by others I appeared immediately in the world, and found there was bardly a fourrilous tongue which had not been let loofe on my fubject; and that those persons, whom the duke of white

of Ormond and earl of Mar must influence, or might silence, were the loudest in defaming me.

Particular instances wherein I had failed were cited; and, as it was the fashion for every jacobite to affect being in the secret, you might have found a multitude of vouchers to facts, which, if they had been true, could in the nature of them be known to very sew persons.

down the reputation of a man by notife and impudence, imposed on the world at first, convinced people who were not acquainted with me, and staggered even my friends. But it ceased in a few days

days to have any effect against me. The malice was too gross to pass upon reflection. These stories died away almost as fast as they were published, for this very reason, because they were particular.

They gave out, for instance, that I had taken to my own use a very great sum of the chevalier's money, when it was notorious that I had spent a great sum of my own in his service; and never would be obliged to him for a farthing: in which case, I believe, I was single. Upon this head it was easy to appeal to a very honest gentleman, the queen's treasurer at St. Germains, through whose hands, and

and not through mine, went the very little money which the chevalier had, and avail years omis

They gave out, that whilst he was in Scotland he never heard from me, tho it was notorious that I sent him no less than five expresses during the six weeks which he consumed in this expedition. It was easy, on this head, to appeal to the persons, to whom my dispatches had been committed.

of the lame fort, which were founded on particular facts, were disproved hymparticular facts, and had not time, at least at Paris, to make any impression. But the principal crime, with which

which they charged me then, and the only one which fince that time they have infifted upon, is of another nature. This part of their accusation is general, and it cannot be refuted without doing what I have done above, deducing feveral facts, comparing these facts together, and reasoning upon them: nay, that which is worse, is, that it cannot be fully refuted without the mention of some facts, which, in my present circumstances, it would not be very prudent, tho I should think it very lawful for me, to divulge. You fee that I mean the starving the war in Scotland, which it is pretended might have been supported, and might have succeeded

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 225 ceeded too, if I had procured the foccours which were afted ed, pay, if I had fent a little powder pod This the jacobites who affect moderation and can dor, forugatheir shoulders at they are forry for it, but lord BOUNGROKE Can never walk himself clean of this guilt; for thele fuccours might have been obtained wand a proof that they might, is, what they were to by dthers du Thefe people leave the cause of this milmanagement doubtful, between my treachery and my want of capacity. The pretender, with all the false charity and real malice of one who fets up for devotion, attributes all his miffortunes to my hegligence." I cne-THE

THE letters which were writ by my fecretary, above, a year ago, into England; the marginal notes which have been made fince to the letter from Avignon; and what is faid above, have feto this affair in To clear a light, that whoever examines, with a fair intention, must feel the truth, and be convinced by it. I cannot, however, forbear to make some observations on the fame subject hered It is even necessary that I should do fo in the design of making this discourse the foundation of my justification to the tories at present, and to the whole world malice of one who feet emilia

THERE is nothing which my

## Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 227

enemies apprehend to much as my justification : and they have reason. But they may comfort themselves with this reflection, that it will be a misfortune, which will accompany me to my grave, that I fuffered a chain of accidents to draw me into fuch measures and fuch company; that I have been obliged to defend myself against fuch acculations and fuch accusers; that, by affociating with fo much folly, and fo much knavery, I am become the victim of both; that I was diftreffed by the former, when the latter would have been lefs grievous to me, fince it is much better in business to be yoked to knaves than fools; and that I put

P 2

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Is put ninto their hands the means of loading me, like the scape-goat, with all the evil consequences of their folly.

that it will be a mis In the first letters which I received from the earl of MAR he writ for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and all things frankly, as if these things had been ready, and I had engaged to supply him with them, before he fet up the standard at the brae of Mar; whereas our condition could not be unknown to his lordship; and you have seen that I did all I could to prewent his reckoning on any affistance from hence. As our hopes at this court decreased, his I put

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 229 his lordship rose in his demands; and at the time when it was visible that the regent intended nothing less than even prid vately and indirectly to support the Scotch, the pretender and the earl of Man writ for regular forces and a train of are tillery; which was in effect to infift that France fould enter into a war for them. I might, in answer to the first instances, have afked lord M a R, what he did in Scotland? and what he meaned by drawing his countrymen into a war at this time, or at least upon this foot? He, who had dictated not long be fore a memorial, wherein it was afferted, that to have a prospect of fucceeding in This enter P 3 prise

prise there must be an universal infurrection, and that fuch an infurrection was in no fort probable, unless a body of troops was brought to support it? He, who thought that the confequence of failing, when the attempt was once made, must be the sutter irain of the cause, and the loss of the british liberty? He, who concurred in demanding as a pis-aller, and the least which could be insisted on, arms, ammunition, artillery, money, and officers? I fay, I might have afked what he meant to begin the dance when he had not the least affurance of any succour, but, on the contrary, the greatest reason imaginable to believe this affair was become as de-

ding

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 231

desperate abroad by the death of the most christian king, as it was at home by the discovery of the design, and by the measures taken to descap it it and only only min

planned itself as fully as the man Instrad of acting this part which would have been wife, I, took that which was plaufible. I resolved to contribute all L could to support the business, fince it was begun. I encouraged his lordship as long as I had the least ground for doing for and I confirmed the pretender in his resolution of going to Scotland, when he had nothing better left whim; to do to If I have any thing to reproach myfelf with, in the whole progress of the war in Scotland, it is havforms P 4

The true cause of all the mission which happened to the Scotch, and to those who took arms in the morth of England, lies here; that they rose without any previous certainty of foreign help; in direct contradiction to the scheme which their leaders themselves had formed.

formed. The excuse which I have sheard somade for ithis sis that the acti of parliament for curbing tithe highlanders was near to be put in execution; that bebeys would have been difarmed, hand entitely difabled from rifing at any other time, if they be had a not profe ratiothis. You can judgel betterwthan I of the walidity of this rexcuse. It feems not me, that by mas nagement they might diavergain ed time, and that even when they had been reduced ito the dilemma supposed, they ought to have got together under pretence of relifting the infractions of the union; without any menition of the pretender; and have treated with the government Ila

on

on this foot. By these means they might probably have preferved themselves in a condition of avowing their defign when they should be fure of being backed from abroad : at the worst they might have declared for the chevalier when all other expedients failed them. In a word, I take this text cufe not to beibvery good, and the true reason of this conduct to have been the rathe ness of the people, and the inconfistent measures of their dilemma fupposed, they chesh

Bur admitting the excuse to be valid, it remains still an undeniable truth, that this is the original fountain from whence all

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 235

all those waters of bitterness flowed, which fo many unhappy people have drunk of. I have faid already, that the necessity of acting was precipitated before any measures to act with fuccess had been taken; and that the necessity of doing fo feemed to increase as the means of doing fo were taken away., To whom is this to be ascribed? Is it to be ascribed to me, who had no share in these affairs till a few weeks before the duke of Ormond was forced to abandon England, and the difcovery of the intended invafion was published to parliament and to the world? or is it to be ascribed to those who had from

adt I have already faid, that

madw

py, people have drunk of. I - UNABLE to defend this point, the next refort of the jacobites is to this impudent and ab furd affirmation, that, notwith standing the disadvantages un der which they took arms they should have succeeded, if the sindirect affiltances, which were afked from France, had been obtained : nay, that they frould have been able to de fend the highlands, if I had fent them at little powder. nots for possible that a man should be wounded with such blunt wear pons? Much more than powder was lafted for from the fift, and I have already faid, that when

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 337 when the chevalier came into Scotland, regular troops, artillery, &c. were demanded. Both he and the earl of MAR judged it impossible to stand their ground without fuch affiftance as thefe. How fcandalous then must it be deemed, that they suffer their dependents to spread in the world, that for want of a little powder I forced them to abandon Scotland? The earl of MAR knows, that all the powder in France would not have enabled him to flay at Perth as long as he did, if he had not had another fecurity r and when that failed him, he must have quitted the party, if the regent had navigio the recent himself, who

### 238 A LETTER to

given us all that he made fome of us expect.

Bur to finish all that I intend to fay on a subject which has tired me, and perhaps you: the jacobites affirm that the indirect affistances, which they defired, might have been obtained: and I confess, that I am inexcufable if this fact be true. To prove it, they appeal to the little politicians of whom I have spoken so often. I affirm, on the contrary, that nothing could be obtained here to fupport the Scotch, or to encourage the English. To prove the affertion, I appeal to the minifters with whom I negotiated, and to the regent himself, who, whatSir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 239

whatever language he may hold in private with other people, cannot controvert with me the truth of what I advance. He excluded me formerly, that he might the more eafily avoid doing any thing; and perhaps he has blamed me fince, that he might excuse his doing nothing. All this may be true, and yet it will remain true; that he would never have been prevailed upon to act directly against his interest in the only point of view which he has, I mean the crown of France, and against the unanimous sense of all his ministers. Suppose that in the time of the late queen, when the had the peace in view, a party in France had im-

## SAO MAHLETTER TO IW 12

implored her affiftance, and had applied to MARGERY FIELDING to Israel, to my lady Ocus THORPE, to Dr. BATTLE, and lidutenant general STEWART what fucces do you imagine fuch applications would have had? . The queen would have spoke them fair, she would speak otherwise to no body but do you imagine the would have made one step in their favood Ouve Trang, MAGNY mademoiselle CHAUSERY, a dire ty abbea Brigaulty and Mr. DILLON, are characters very asu polite to thele; and what !! fuppose to have passed in England is not a whit more ridiculous than what really paffed here. a partw in France . sance

I SAY

I savinothing of the ships, which the jacobites pretend that they fent into Scotland three weeks or a month after the pretender was oreturned believe they might have had my lord STAIR's connivance then, as well as the regent's. I fay nothing of the order, which they pretend to have obtained, and which I never day, for the flores that were feifed at Havre to be addivered to CASTIL BLANco.dt Il have already faid enough on this head ; and you cannot have enfailed antid abferve, that this fignal favor was never obtained by thefen people till the marshal D'HUXELLES had owned to lime, that nothing was to be expected from France, and

and that the only thing which I could do was to endeavour to bring the pretender, the earl of MAR, and the principal persons who were most exposed, off: neither he nor I imagining that any such would be left behind.

When I began to appear in the world, upon the advertisements which my friends gave me of the clamor that was raised against me, you will easily think I did not enter into so many particulars as I have done with you. I said even less, than you have seen, in those letters which Brinsden writ into England, in March and April was twelve month; and yet the clamor funk

funk immediately. The people of confideration at this court beat it down, and the court of St. Germains grew fo ashamed of it, that the queen thought fit to purge herfelf of having had any share in encouraging the discourses which were held against me, or having been so much as let into the fecret of the measure which preceded them. The provocation was great, but I resolved to act without passion. I saw the advantage the pretender and his council, who disposed of things better for me than I should have done for myfelf, had given me: but I faw likewife, that I must improve this advantage with the utmost caution.

Q 2

As

Side immediately The people

As I never imagined that he would treat me in the mand ner he did, nor that his ministers could be weak enough to advise him to it; I had refolved, on his return from Scotland, to follow him till his refidence should be fixed fomewhere or other: after which, having ferved the tories in this, which I looked upon as their last struggle for power, and having continued to act in the pretender's affairs till the end of the term for which I embarked with him; I should have e steemed myself to be at liber ty, and should in the civilest manner I was able have taken my leave of him. Had we parted

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 245

parted thus, I should have remained in a very strange situation during the rest of my life; but I had examined myself thoroughly, I was determined, I was prepared.

On one fide he would have thought that he had a fort of right on any future occasion to call me out of my retreat; the tories would probably have thought the same thing : my refolution was taken to refuse them both, and I forefaw, that both would condemn me. On the other fide, the confideration of his keeping meafures with me, joined to that of having once openly declared for him, would have created a point of ho-Q 3 nor.

nor, by which I should have been tied down, not only from ever engaging against him, but also from making my peace at home. The chevalier cut this gordian knot afunder at one blow. He broke the links of that chain which former engagements had fastened on me, and gave me a right to esteem myself as free from all obligations of keeping meafures with him, as I should have continued if I had never engaged in his interest. I took therefore, from that moment, the resolution of making my peace at home, and of employing all the unfortunate experience I had acquired abroad, to undeceive my friends, and Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 247 to promote the union and the quiet of my country.

THE earl of STAIR had received a full power to treat with me whilft I was engaged with the pretender, as I have been fince informed. He had done me the justice to believe me incapable to hearken, in fuch circumstances, to any propofals of that kind: and, as much friendship as he had for me, as much as I had for him, we entertained not the least even indirect correspondence together during that whole time. Soon afterwards he employed a person \* to communicate to me the disposition of his ma-

SALADIN of Geneva, then at Paris.

Q 4 jesty

† There will be added, at the end of this relation, an original letter from the earl of Stark to Mr. Craces, giving a full account of the transaction here mentioned.

THE

THE notion of a treaty shocked me. I resolved never to be restored, rather than go that way to work; and I opened my felf without any referve to lord STAIR. I told him, that I looked on myself to be obliged in honor and in conscience to undeceive my friends in England, both as to the flate of foreign affairs, as to the management of the jacobite interest abroad, and as to the characters of perfons; in every one of which points I knew them to be most grossly and most dangerously deluded: that the treatment I had received from the pretender and his adherents would justify me to the world in doing this: that if I remained in exile

exile all my life, he might be affured, that I would never more have to do with the jacobite cause; and that if I was restored, I should give it an effectual blow, in making that apology which the pretender has put me under a necessity of making: that in doing this I flattered myself that I should contribute fomething to the establishment of the king's government, and to the union of his fubjects; but that this was all the merit which I could promife to have: that if the court believed these professions to be fincere, a treaty with me was unnecessary for them; and that if they did not believe them fo, a treaty with them was danSir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 251

dangerous for me: that I was determined in this whole transaction to make no one step which I would not own in the sace of the world; that in other circumstances it might be sufficient to act honestly, but that in a case as extraordinary as mine, it was necessary to act clearly, and to leave no room for the least doubtful construction.

The earl of STAIR, as well as Mr. CRAGGS, who arrived foon after in France, came into my fense. I have reason to believe, that the king has approved it likewise upon their representations, since he has been pleased to give me the most gracious assurances of his favor.

favor. What the effect of all this may be, in the next, or in any other fession, I know not: but this is the foot on which I have put myself, and on which I fland at the moment I write to you. The whigs may continue inveterate, and by consequence frustrate his majesty's good intentions towards me; the tories may continue to rail at me, on the credit of fuch enemies as I have described to you in the course of this relation : neither the one nor the other shall make me fwerve out of the path which I have traced to myfelf.

the feveral stages which I pro-

topicsentations, since he has

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 253 posed at furt; and I should do wrong to your good under standing, as well as to our muz tual friendship, if I suspected that you could hold any other language to me than that which DOLABELLA uses to Cicero! "Satisfactum est jam a te vel " officio vel familiaritati; fac " tisfactum etiam partibus." The king, who pardons me, might complain of me, the whigs might declaim against me, my family might reproach me for the little regard which I have shewn to my own and to their interests; but where is the crime I have been guilty of towards my party and towards my friends? In what part of my conduct will the

the tories find an excuse for the treatment which they have given me? As tories, fuch as they were when I left England, I defy them to find any. But here lies the fore, and, tender as it is, I must lay it open. Those amongst them, who rail at me now, are changed from what they were, or from what they professed themselves to be, when we lived and acted together. They were tories then, they are jacobites now. Their objections to the course of my conduct whilft I was in the pretender's interest are the pretence; the true reason of their anger is, that I renounce the pretender for my life. When you were first driven into

into this interest, I may appeal to you for the notion which the party had. You thought of reftoring him by the strength of the tories, and of opposing a tory king to a whig king. You took him up as the instrument of your revenge and of your ambition. You looked on him as your creature, and never once doubted of making what terms you pleased with him. This is fo true, that the same language is still held to the catechumens in jacobitism. Were the contrary to be avowed even now, the party in England would foon diminish. I engaged on this principle when your orders fent me to Commercy,

mercy, and I never acted on any other. This ought to have been part of my merit towards the tories; and it would have been fo if they had continued in the fame dispositions to But they are changed, and this very thing is become many ricrime. Inflead of making the pretender their tool, they dre his. Instead of having in view to reftore him on their own terms, they are laboring to do it without any terms of that is to fpeak properly, they are ready to receive him on his Mo Be not deceived : there is not a man on this fide of the water who acts in any other manner. The church-of-England jacobite and the irish papist feem

sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 257
feem in every respect to have
the same cause. Those on your
side of the water, who correspond with these, are to be
comprehended in the same class;
and from thence it is, that
the clamor raised against me
has been kept up with so much
industry, and is redoubled on
the least appearance of my return home, and of my being
in a situation to justify myselfich

You have feen already what reasons the pretender; and the several forts of people who dome pose his party here, had to get rid of me, and to coverance to the utmost of their power with infamy. Their views were as thort in this case, as they are

R

in all others. They did mot fee at first, that this conduct would not only give ime a right, but put me under a necessity of keeping no farther measures with nthem and of laying the whole mystery of their iniquity open As food as they discovered this they took the only course which was left them, a that not pois foring the minds of athe ato ries, and of creating such prejudices against me whilst I'remained in a condition of not speaking for myself, as will, they hope, prevent the effect of whatever I may fay when I am in a condition of pleading my own cause. The bare apprehension, that I shall shew the

the world that I have been guilty of no crime, renders me criminal among these men's and they hold themselves ready, being unable to reply either in point of sact or in point of reason, to drown my voice in the confusion of their clamor, and only one of their clamor, and they have been purely their clamor, and they have been properties and they have been propertie

The only crimes I am guilty of I own. I own the crime of having been for the pretender in a very different manner from those, with whom I acted. I served him as faithfully, I served him as faithfully, I served him as well as they; but I served him on a different principle. I own the crime of having renounced him, and of being resolved never to R 2 have

have to do with him as long as I live. I own the crime of being determined fooner or later, as foon as I can, to clear myfelf of all the unjust afperfions which have been caft upon me; to undeceive by my experience as many as I can of those tories who may have been drawn into error; and to contribute, if ever I return home, as far as I am able, to promote the national good of Britain without any other regard. These crimes do not, I hope, by this time appear to you to be of a very black dyee You may I come, perhaps, to think them wirthes, when you have read and confidered what remains to be faid; aved

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 261

faid; for before I conclude; it is necessary that I open one matter to you, which I could not weave in sooner without breaking too much the thread of my narration. In this place, unmingled with any thing else, it will have, as it deserves to have, your whole attention.

Who ever composed that curious piece of false fact, false argument, false english, and false eloquence, the letter from Avignon, says, that I was not thought the most proper person to speak about religion. I confess b should be of his mind, and should include his patrons in my case, if the practice of it was to be re-

R 3 com-

commended: for furely it is unpardonable impudence to impose by precept what we do not teach by example. I should be of the same mind, if the nature of religion was to be explained, if it's mysteries were to be fathomed, and if this great truth was to be effablished, that the church of England has the advantage over all other churches in purity of doctrine, and in wifdom of discipline. But nothing of this kind was neces-This would have been the task of reverend and learned divines. We of the laity had nothing more to do, than to lay in our claim that we could never fubmit to be governed by

by a prince who was not of the religion of our country. Such a declaration could hardly have failed of some effect to wards opening the eyes and disposing the mind even of the pretender. At least, in justice to our party, we who were here ought to have made it; and the infliwence of it on the pretender ought to have become the rule of our subsequent conducts become

In thinking in this manner
I think no otherwise now, than
I have always thought: and I
cannot forget, nor you neither,
what passed when, a little before the death of the queen,
letters were conveyed from the
R 4 che-

chevalier to feveral persons, to myfelf among othersicilin the letter to me, othe article of po ligion was fo aukwardly handled, that he made the principal mon tive of the confidence nive ought to have in him to donfift in his firm resolution to adhere to popery Iw The effect which this epiftle had on me was the fame which it had on those tories to whom Lucdm municated it abothat time di made us refolve to have nothing to do with him aid al Methink no otherwise now, than

affured by feveral, and Lomake no doubt but others have been for too, that the chevalier at the bottom was not a bigot:

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 265 that whilf he remained abroad and could expect no fuccour, either present or future, from any princes but those of the roman catholic communion, it was prudent, whatever he might think, to make no demonstration of a delign to change anibut that this temper was fuchi, and he was already fo disposed that we might det pend on his compliance with what hould be defined of him, if we're he came amongs us, and was taken from under the wings of the queen his mother. ad Tooftrengthen this of pinion of his character, it was faid that he had fent for Mr. LESLEY over; that he allowed him to celebrate the church of Eng-

England; fervice in his family, and that he had promifed to hear what this divine should represent on the subject of religion to him. When I came abroad, the same things, and much more, were at first ind finuated to me; and dibegan to let them make impression upon me, notwithstanding what I had feen under his handle I would willingly flatter myfelf that this impression disposed me to incline to jacobitifm, rather than allow that the inclination to jacobitism disposed me easily to believe what, upon that principle, I had fo much reason to with might be true. Which was the cause, and which the effect, I cannot well determine: perhaps they

they did mutually occasion each other. Thus much is certain, that I was far from weighing this matter as I ought to have done, when the solicitation of my friends and the persecution of my enemies precipitated me into engagements with the pretender.

I was willing to take it for granted, that fince you were as ready to declare, as I believed you at that time, you must have had entire satisfaction on the article of religion. I was soon undeceived; this string had never been touched. My own observation, and the unanimous report of all these who from his infancy have approached the pretender's person,

fon, foon taught me how difficult it is to come to terms with him on this head, and how unfafe to embark without them.

when the folicitation of my kiends His religion is not founded on the love of virtue and the detestation of vice; on a sense of that obedience which is due to the will of the Supreme Being; and a sense of those obligations which creatures formed to live in a mutual dependance on one another lie under. The spring of his whole conductatis fear. Fear of the horns of the devil, and of the flames, of hell. He has been taught to believe, that nothing but a blind fubmillion to the church of Rome, and a strict ad-

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 269 adherence to all the terms of that communion, can fave him from these dangers. He has all the fuperstition of a capuching but I found on him no tincture of the religion of a prince. Do not imagine that I loofe the reins to my imagination, or that I write what my refentments dictate : I tell you fimply my opinion. I have heard the same description of his character made by those who know him best; and I conversed with very few among the roman catholics themselves, who did not think him too much vanced to have it in thatique a er to retreat : and little depend-

Norming gave me, from the beginning, so much uneafiness

as the confideration of this part of his character, and of the little care which had been taken to correct it. A true turn had not been given to the first steps which were made with him. The tories, who engaged afterwards, threw themselves as it were at his head. He had been fuffered to think that the party in England wanted him as much as he wanted them. There was no room to hope for much compliance on the head of religion, when he was in these sentiments, and when he thought the tories too far advanced to have it in their power to retreat: and little dependance was at any time to be placed on the promises of a

man

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 274 man capable of thinking his damnation (lattached to) the obfervance, and his falvation to the breach of, these very promiles. Something however, was to be done; and I thought that the least which could be done was, to deal plainly with him, and to shew him the impossibility of governing our nation by any other expedient, than by complying with that which would be expected from him as to his religion. This was thought, too much by the duke of Ormond and Mr. Las-LIR; altho the duke could be no more ignorant than the minister, how ill the latter had been used, how far the chevalier had been from keeping the word

word which he had given, and on the faith of which Mr. Les-Lie had come over to him. They both knew, that he not only refused to hear himself, but that he sheltered the ignorance of his priefts, or the badness of his cause, or both, behind his authority, and absolutely forbid all discourse concerning religion. The duke feemed convinced that it would be time enough to talk of religion to him when he should be restored, or, at somest, when he should be landed in England; that, the influence under which he had lived being at a distance, the reasonableness of what we might propose, joined to the apparent necessity which would

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 273
would then stare him in the
face, could not fail to produce
all the effects which we could
defire a start of the

rias execciino plain that in To me this whole reasoning appeared fallacious. Our bufiness was not to make him change appearances on this fide of the water, that to prepare him to give those which would be necesfary on the other: and there was no room to hope that if we could gain nothing on this prejudices here, we should be able to overcongethern in Britain. I would have argued just as the duke of ORMOND and LESUIE, if I had been a papift; and I saw well enough that fome people about him, for in a great dearth of ability

lity there was cunning to be met with, affected nothing more than to keep off all discourse of religion. To my apprehenfion it was exceeding plain that we should find, if we were once in England, the necessity of going forward at any rate with him much greater, than he would find that of complying with us. I thought it an unpardonable fault to have taken a formal engagement with him, when no previous fatisfaction had been obtained on a point, at least as essential to our civil as to our religious rights; to the peace of the state, as to the prosperity of the church; and I looked on this fault to be aggravated by every day's delay. Our filence was unfair, both to

to the chevalier, and to our friends in England. He was induced by it to believe, that they would exact far less from him, than we knew they expected : and they were confirmed in an opinion of his docility, which we knew to be void of all foundation. The pretence of removing that influence, under which he had lived, was frivolous, and should never have been urged to me, who faw plainly, that, according to the measures pursued by the very persons who urged it, he must be environed in England by the fame people that furrounded him here; and that the court of St. James's would be constituted, if ever he was restored,

## 276 A LETTER to 77

this overlook

in the same manner as that of St. Germains was.

WHEN the draught of a declaration, and other papers which were to be dispersed in Great Britain, came to be fettled, it appeared that my apprehension and distrust were but too well founded. The pretender took exception against feveral paffages, and particularly against those, wherein a direct promise of securing the churches of England and Ireland was made. He was told, he faid, that he could not in conscience make such a promise: and, the debate being kept up a little while, he asked me with fome warmth, why the

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 277 the tories were fo defirous to have him, if they expected those things from him which his religion did not allow? I left these draughts, by his order, with him, that he might confider and amend them. I cannot fay that he fent them to the queen to be corrected by her confessor and the rest of her council: but I firmly believe it. Sure I am, that he took time fufficient to do this; before he fent them from Bar. where he then was, to Paris, whither I was returned. When they were digested in such a manner as fatisfied his cafuilts, he made them be printed: and my name was put to the declaration, as if the original had been S 3

been figned by me. I had hitherto submitted my opinion to
the judgment of others; but
on this occasion I took advice
from myself. I declared to him,
that I would not suffer my name
to be at the bottom of this
paper. All the copies which
came to my hands I burnt, and
another was printed off, without
any countersigning.

The whole tenor of the amendments was one continued
instance of the grossest bigotry; and the most material passages were turned with all the
jesuitical prevarication imaginable. As much as it was his interest, at that time, to cultivate
the respect which many of the
tories

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 270 tories really had for the memory of the late queen, and which many others affected as a farther mark of their opposition to the court, and to the whig party; as much as it was his interest to weave the honor of her name into his cause, and to render her, even after her death, a party to the dispute; he could not be prevailed upon to give her that character which her enemies allowed her, nor to make use of those expressions in speaking of her, which, by the general manner of their application, are come to be little more than terms of respect and words of form, proper in the style of public acts. For instance:

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SHE was called in the original draught "his fifter of glo"tious and bleffed memory."
In that which he published, the epithet of "bleffed" was left out. Her eminent justice and her exemplary piety were occasionally mentioned. In lieu of which he substituted a flat, and, in this case, an invidious expression, "her inclinations to "justice."

Nor content with declaring her neither just nor pious in this world, he did little less than declare her damned in the other, according to the church of Rome.

Walking Co. Walking

## Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 281

"WHEN it pleased almighty
"God to take her to himself,"
was the expression used in speaking of the death of the queen.
This he erased, and instead
thereof inserted these words:
"when it pleased almighty
"God to put a period to her
"life."

He graciously allowed the universities to be nurseries of loyalty; but did not think that it became him to style them "nurses feries of religion."

Since his father passes already for a faint, and fince reports are encouraged of miracles which they suppose to be wrought at his tomb, he might have allowed his grandfather to pass for

for a martyr: but he struck out of the draught these words, "that blessed martyr who died "for his people," which were applied to king Charles the first, and would say nothing more of him than that "he sell "a facrifice to rebellion."

In the clause which related to the churches of England and Ireland there was a plain and direct promise inserted of "ef-"fectual provision for their se-"curity; and for their re-esta-"blishment in all those rights "which belong to them." This clause was not suffered to stand, but another was formed, wherein all mention of the church of Ireland was omitted, and nothing thing was promifed to the church of England but the fecurity, and "re-establishment of all "those rights, privileges, immu"nities, and possessions which "belong to her," and wherein he had already promised, by his declaration of the twentieth of July, to secure and "pro"tect all her members."

I NEED make no comment on a proceeding so easy to be understood. The drift of these evasions, and of this affected obscurity is obvious enough, at least it will appear so by the observations which remain to be made.

He was so afraid of admitting any words which might be construed into a promise of his con-

consenting to those things, which should be found necessary for the present or future security of our constitution, that in a paragraph where he was made to fay, that he thought himself obliged to be folicitous for the prosperity of the church of England, the word prosperity was expunged; and we were left by this mental refervation to guess what he was follicitous for. It could not be for her prosperity: that he had expunged, It must therefore be for her destruction, which in his language would have been styled, her conversion.

ANOTHER remarkable proof of the same kind is to be found to-

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 285 towards the conclusion of the declaration. After having spoke of the peace and florishing estate of the kingdom, he was made to express his readiness to concert with the two houses such further measures, as should be thought necessary for securing the fame to future generations. The design of this paragraph you fee. He and his council faw it too, and therefore the word " fecuring" was laid afide, and the word "leaving" was inferted in lieu of it.

ONE would imagine, that a declaration corrected in this manner might have been suffered to go abroad without any farther precaution. But these papers

papers had been penned by protestants; and who could answer that there might not be fill ground sufficient from the tenor of them to infift on every thing necessary for the security of that religion? The declaration of the twentieth of July had been penned by a priest of the fcotch college, and the expressions had been measured so as to fuit perfectly with the conduct which the chevalier intended to hold; fo as to leave room to distinguish him, upon future occasions, with the help of a little pious fophistry, out of all the engagements which he seemed to take in it. This orthodox paper was therefore to accompany the heretical paper into

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 287 into the world, and no promife of moment was to fland in the latter, funless qualified by a reference to the former of Thus the church was to be fecured in the rights, &c. which belong to her. How? No otherwise than according to the declaration of the month of July. And what does that promise? Security and protection to the members of this church in the enjoyment of their property. I make no doubt, but BELLAR-MINE, if he had been the chevalier's confessor, would have passed this paragraph thus amended. No engagement whatever taken in favor of the church of Ireland, and a happy distinction found between fecuring

ing that of England, and protecting her members. Many a useful project for the destruction of heretics, and for accumulating power and riches to the see of Rome, has been established on a more stender foundation.

The same spirit reigns through the whole. Civil and religious rights are no otherwise to be confirmed, than in conformity to the declaration of July; nay the general pardon is restrained and limited to the terms prescribed therein.

This is the account which I judged too important to be omitted, and which I chose to give you all together. I shall surely

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 289

furely be justified at present in concluding, that the tories are grossly deluded in their opinion of this prince's character, or else that they facrifice all, which ought to be effected precious and facred among men, to their passions. In both these cases I remain still a tory, and am true to the party. In the first, I endeavour to undeceive you by an experience purchased at my expence and for your fakes: in the fecond, I endeavour to prevail on you to revert to that principle from which we have deviated. You never intended, whilft I lived amongst you, the ruin of your country; and yet every step, which you now make towards the restora-

Γ tion

tion you are so fond of, is a step towards this ruin. No man of sense, well informed, can ever go into measures for it, unless he thinks himself and his country in such desperate circumstances, that nothing is lest them but to chuse of two ruins that which they like best.

THE exile of the royal family, under Cromwell's usurpation, was the principal cause of all those misfortunes, in which Britain has been involved, as well as of many of those which have happened to the rest of Europe, during more than half a century.

THE two brothers, CHARLES and JAMES, became then infected

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 291 ed with popery to fuch degrees; as their different characters admitted of. CHARLES had parts; and his good understanding ferved as an antidote to repel the poison. JAMES, the simplest man of his time, drank off the whole chalice. The poison met, in his composition, with all the fear, all the credulity, and all the obstinacy of temper proper to increase it's virulence; and to threngthen it's effect of The first had always a wrong biass upon him : he connived at the establishment, and indirectly contributed to the growth of that power, which afterwards disturbed the peace, and threatened the liberty of Europe fo often; but he went

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no

voured to precipitate ours. His parliament and his people did all

they

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 293 they could to fave themselves by winning him. But all was vain: he had no principle on which they could take hold. Even his good qualities worked against them, and his love of his country went halves with his bigotry. How he fucceeded, we have heard from our fathers. The revolution of one thousand fix hundred and eighty eight faved the nation, and ruined the king.

Now the pretender's education has rendered him infinitely less fit than his uncle, and at least as unfit as his father, to be king of Great Britain. Add to this, that there is no resource in his understanding. Men of the best sense find it hard to overcome

tion offace dien w

come religious prejudices, which are of all the strongest; but he is a flave to the weaken. The rod hangs like the fword of DAMOCLES over his head, and he trembles before his mother and this priest so What, sin the name of God, can any member of the church of England promife himfelf from fuch a character & Aire we by anothere revolution to return into the fame state from which we'were delivered by the first? Let us take example from the forman catholics, who act very Yeafonably in refuling to fubmit to ais protostant prince. HENRY the fourth had at least as good a title to the crown of France, las the pretender has to COINE ours.

ours. His religion alone frood in his way, and he had never been king if he had not remove ed that obstacles Shall we submit to a popish prince, who will no more imitate Hanky the fourth in changing his religion, than he will imitate those shining qualities which rendered him the honestest gentleman, the bravest captain, and the greateft prince of his hige ? Allow me to give a loose to my pen for a moment on this Subject General benevolence, and universal charity seem to be establifhed in the igospel as the diflinguishing badgest of christis anity. How it happens I cannot tell; but folib is, ithat in all ages of the church the profeffors T 4

fessors of christianity seem to have been animated by a quite contrary spirit. Whilst they were thinly scattered over the world, tolerated in some places, but established no where, their zeal often confumed their charity. Paganism, at that time the religion by law established was infulted by many of them; the ceremonies were diffurbed, the altars thrown down. As foon as by the favor of Constanting their numbers were increased, and the reins of government were put into their hands, they began to employ the fecular arm, not only against different religions, but against different sects which arose in their own religion. A 275 man

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 297 man may boldly affirm, that more blood has been shed in the disputes between christian and christian, than has ever been drawn from the whole body of them in the persecutions of the heathen emperors, and in the conquests of the mahometan princes. From these they have received quarter, but never from one another. The christian religion is actually tolerated among the mahometans, and the domes of churches and mosques arise in the same city. But it will be hard to find an example, where one fect of christians has tolerated another which it was in their power to extirpate. They have gone farther in these later ages: what was practifed for-

formerly has been taught fince. Persecution has been reduced into fystem, and the disciples of the meek and humble Jesus have avowed a tyranny, which the most barbarous conquerors never claimed. The wicked fubtilty of casuists has established breach of faith with those who differ from us, as a duty in opposition to faith; and murder itself has been made one of the means of falvation. I know very well that the reformed churches have been far from going those cruel lengths, which are authorised by the doctrine as well as example of that of Rome; tho CALVIN put a flaming fword on the title of a french edition of his Institute, with this

motto,

motto, "Je ne suis point venu "mettre la paix, mais l'epée:" but I know likewise, that the difference lies in the means, and not in the aim of their policy. The church of England, the most humane of all of them, would root out every other religion, if it was in her power. She would not hang and burn; her measures would be milder, and therefore, perhaps, more effectual.

Since then there is this inveterate rancor among christians, can any thing be more abfurd, than for those of one persuasion to trust the supreme power, or any part of it, to those of another? Particularly, must it not

be reputed madness in those of our religion, to trust themselves in the hands of roman catholics? Must it not be reputed impudence in a roman catholic to expect that we should? he, who looks upon us as heretics, as men in rebellion against a lawful, nay a divine authority, and whom it is therefore meritorious by all forts of ways to reduce to obedience. There are many, I know, amongst them who think more generoufly, and whose morals are not corrupted by that which is called religion: but this is the spirit of the priesthood, in whose scale that scrap of a parable, "Com-" pel them to come in," which they apply as they please, outweighs sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 301 weighs the whole decalogue. This will be the spirit of every man who is bigot enough to be under their direction: and so much is sufficient for my present purpose.

it is applied to keep a fireft

During your last session of parliament, it was expected that the whigs would attempt to repeal the occasional bill. The same jealousy continues: there is, perhaps, foundation for it. Give me leave to ask you, upon what principle we argued for making this law, and upon what principle you must argue against the repeal of it. I have mentioned the principle in the beginning of this discourse. No man ought to be trusted with

any share of power under a government, who must, to act confistently with himself, endeavour the deftruction of that very government. Shall this proposition pass for true when it is applied to keep a presbyterian from being mayor of a corporation, and shall it become false, when it is applied to keep a papift from being king? The proposition is equally true in both cases; but the argument drawn from it is just fo much stronger in the latter, than in the former case, as the mischiefs, which may result from the power and influence of a king, are greater than those which can be wrought by a magistrate of the lowest order. This

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 303

This seems to my apprehension to be argumentum ad hominem, and I do not see by
what happy distinction a jacobite tory could elude the force
of it.

pies us the mobbase sold in a self

Ir may be faid, and it has been urged to me, that if the chevalier was restored, the knowledge of his character would be our security; "habet soe-"num in cornu:" there would be no pretence for trusting him, and by consequence it would be easy to put such restrictions on the exercise of the regal power, as might hinder him from invading or sapping our religion and liberty. But this I utterly deny. Experience has shewn us how

how ready men are to court power and profit; and who can determine, how far either the tories or the whigs would comply, in order to fecure to themselves the enjoyment of all the places in the kingdom? Suppose however, that a majority of true Ifraelites should be found, whom no temptation could oblige to bow the knee to BAAL; in order to preserve the government on one hand, must they not destroy it on the other? The necessary restrictions would in this case be so many, and so important, as to leave hardly the shadow of a monarchy, if he fubmitted to them : and if he did not submit to them, these patriots would have no resource left

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 104 left but in rebellion. bo Thus, therefore, the affair would turny if the pretender was reftored! We might, moftsprobably, whose our religion and liberty by the bigotry of the prince, and the corruption of the people. We hould have no reliance of preferving them; but by an entire change of the whole frame of our government, or by another revolution uo What reasonable man would voluntarily reduce himself to the necessity of making an option among fuch ines lancholy alternatives of ont noque

Pin best which could be hoped for, were the chevalier on the throne, would be that a thread of favorable accidents,

improved by the wildom and virtue lof wparliament, menight keep off the evil day during his reign. But fill the fatal cause would be refiablished; it is would be teritailed spop sit; and every man would be apprison; that fooner ornlater the fatal effect musto follows. Hopfied a little what a condition we should be in both with respect to our for reign interest printed our demestic quiet, whilf the reptieve lafted, whilst the chevalist on his fund ceffors inade me ndirect nattack lancholy aincitatived and noqui

diddy that princes and flates are friends or focus to none another, according at the motives of amendians

Sir WILLIAM WINDHAM. 307 bition drive them. Thefe are the first principles of union and division amongs them. The protestant powers of Europe have joined, in our days, to full port and aggrandife the house of Austria, as they did, in the day's of our forefathers to defeat her defigns, and to reduce her power; and the most christian king of France has more than once joined his councils, and his arms and, with the councils and arms of the most mahometen Emperoi of Confinitinopid But Millighers mid what where must continue, asyllong as the influence of the papal autho-/ rity foblits in Burthes another general, permanent, and live riable anvision of interestant The cealed powers U 2

powers of earth, like those of heaven, have two distinct mo-Each of them rolls in his own political orb, but each of them is hurried at the same time round the great vortex of his religion. If this general notion be just, apply it to the present cafe. Whilst a roman catholic holds the rudder, how can we expect to be steered in our proper course? His political interest will certainly incline him to direct our first motion right; but his mistaken religious interest will render him incapable of doing it steddily. suminos fluor

influence to the papel autho-As to the last, our domestic quiet; even whilft the chevalier, and those of his race concealed o U powers

cealed their game, we should remain in the most unhappy state which human nature is subject to, a state of doubt and suspense. Our preservation would depend on making him the object of our eternal jealousy, who, to render himself and his people happy, ought to be that of our entire confidence.

Whilst the pretender and his successors forbore to attack the religion and liberty of the nation, we should remain in the condition of those people who labor under a broken constitution, or who carry about them some chronical distemper. They feel a little pain at every moment; or a certain uneasines, which

that pathon, to the most defi

which is sometimes less tolerable than pain, hangs continually on them, and they languish in the constant expectation of dying perhaps in the severest corture.

depend on taking him the ob-But if the fear of hell fhould diffipate all other fears in the pretender's mind, and carry him, which is frequently the effect of that passion, to the most desperate undertakings; if among his fucceffors a man bold enough to make the attempt bould ante, the condition of the british mation would beiftill more deplorable. The attempt flucceding, welfhould fall into tyranny ; dor a change of religion could never ber brought about by confent; and the fame force, that would be daidar

be sufficient to enflave our kong foidntes, would be sufficient for all the other purposes of arbitrary power The attempt failing, we should fall into anarchy; for there is no middium when difputes between a prince and bis people nare argindat at a certain point of he mindreither be suband I dare balogab us asor baption tial person, whether my fide in itolyc atoloch hild dromavant to even information il intendedado have faid when I mok my pen; and I am perfunded what if these papers ever come to your hands they bwill penable in to cash up the account hetween party and me. Till the time of the queen's death it stands, I believe, even between us. The tories diffinguished U 4

guished me by their approbation, and by the credit which I had amongst them; and I endeavoured to diftinguish myself in their fervice, under the immediate weight of great discouragement; and with the no very distant profpect of great danger. Since that time the account is not for even and I dare appeal to any impartial person, whether my side in it be that of the debtory Al to the opinion of mankind in general, vand the Judgmeht which posterity will pass on these hastters, I am under no great concaritas 69 Sugmideuique videous the accountiberenessing me. Fill the time of the queen's

death it fands, I believe even Me, Ret, us. The tories diffin-

guifaed

#### EARLMON STAIR

The LARL or STAIR

His majetty's embattador at Paris,

vertation d'une lœure et détain dont dans la finde du contra de la finde de la contra del contra de la contra del la contra dela contra del la contra del la contra del la contra del la contra

## JAMES GRAGGS junior, Efg.

Secret Letter .

Monfieur, somost un mil sep

Che l'état de la negociation. J'ai à present à vous parler, en particulier, de Boling-BROKE.

This letter, which, with feveral more private and fecret letters, had been returned to lord STATE by his correspondent, was communicated to the editor of these papers, some time ago, by a relation of his lordship: and it is copied here, exactly, from the original in his own hand-wriping.

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#### 314 The EARL of STAIR

Je l'ai vu chés moi le jour après ll'arrivée de Mr. Franciet nous avons eu ensemble une conversation d'une heure et demie; dont la substance est, que lui, BOLINGBROK B, Jehtrat) da Meilleur de son cœur, dans son devoir envers fon roi et sa patrie; et que rien au monde étoit capable de le détacher de cette resolution quand même sa majeste ne trongrace. Qu'il étoit prêt; des ce moment, a s'employer avec moi dans ce pais-ici pour le service du roi, hije croyois qu'il y pouvoit être utile à quelque choie et qu'il me communiqueroit tout roit à la connoissance qui me pourroit être de que que ufage, et qu'il m'aideroit volontiers

to JAMES CRAGGS, Esq. 315 tiers de toutes les lumieres qu'il pourroit avoir acquises par ses habitudes ici.

It me dit, que je scavois bien, par son caractere, qu'il ne faisoit pas les choses à demi; qu'en rentrant en son devoir il se proposoit de servir le roi et sa patrie avec zele et avec affection. Que pour set effet, il se croiroit oblige par toutes les obligations du devoir, de la reconnoissance, de l'honneur et de l'interêt même, d'informer le roi de tout ce que son experience lui pourroit suggérer d'utile pour le service de sa majesté, pour l'affermissement de la tranquillité publique, et pour prévenir tous les projets qui se pour-

pourront former en faveur de ses ennemis. Qu'il feroit tout ce qui dependroit de lui de faire rentrer les toris qui ont embrassé le parti du prétendant dans leur devoir, en leur faisant voir quelle espece d'homme le prétendant étoit; et qu'ils se trompoient s'ils croyoient qu'ils pourroient avoir de la fureté avec lui ou pour leur liberté ou pour leur religion. Que pour pouvoir faire cela, il étoit necessaire, même pour le service du roi, que lui, BOLINGBROKE, ne fût pas perdu de reputation, qu'il ne passat pas pour delateur. Ill sonoit d'arile pour le tarvice de fa

It infifta beaucoup fur cet article. "Ce que je propose de "faire, me dit-il, est digne d'un hon-

to JAMES CRAGGS, Efq. 317

" honnête homme, convaincu " de son erreur et touché d'un " vrai répentir; c'est ce que je " ferai hautement et à la face " de l'univers : et permettes-" moi d'ajouter, que c'est un " service réel que je rendrai au " roi et à ma patrie. Mais de

" consentir à trahir des particu-

" liers, ou à réveler ce qui m'a

" été confié, ce seroit me des-

" honnorer à jamais." p : 10200

JE ne dois pas oublier à vous dire, qu'outre son éloignement pour le prétendant, il m'a temoigné beaucoup de dépit contre la France: et je suis sûr qu'il me parloit fincerement.

JE serai bien-aise d'être instruit au plutôt touchant les intentions 318 The EARL of STAIR

tentions du roi à son égard, et de ce que je dois lui promettre au nom de sa majesté; asin qu'il puisse ètre en état de se rétirer de ce pais-iei, où j'appréhende qu'il ne sait pas bost pour lui.

Pour moi; je vous avoue franchement, que je erois qu'il m'a parlé dans la sincérité de son cœur; qu'il est resolu de faire son mieux pour abattre le parti du prétendant, et pour le déraciner tout-à-fait si cela dependoit de lui: et il me paroit certain, qu'il n'y a personne qui puisse nuire au prétendant au point qu'il le peut faire.

Aguit au Sluids sinchast le

A' LA

to JAIMES CRAGGS, Efq. 319

o A imotim de nôme gonverla tion it me forte la main, et me dies WyMildren fi Bon interfait " lanjuflica de crairi que mes oprofactions font finebres plus "ils menagent ma reputation; " plus ils font le service du roi. " Si au contraire ils me soupçon-" nent de ne pas marcher droit, " ils auront raison d'exiger de " moi des conditions que j'aurai " en même tems raison comme " un honnête homme, de refuser. " Les difficultés que je fais de " promettre trop, peuvent fer-" vir de garans que je tiendrai " ce à quoi je m'engage. En " tout cas, le tems et ma conduite uniforme convaincront " tout le monde de la droiture " de mes intentions: et il vaut

ec mieux

# 220 The EARL or STAIR &c.

" mieux attendre ce tems avec

" patience, quelque long qu'il

" puisse être, que d'arriver avec " precipitation à son but en sor-

" tant du grand chemin de

" l'honneur et de la probité!"

plus ils font le fervice de roi a Stancontraine se and foundent

". neat de no par matcher droit

in the second there are artists

en même tema rojika es aka

E un honnête bojnore, de rêder.

Lites difficultis and je this we

premettie trop, penvent file

Late de gardes que je nue la la

Pice a quoi ja en cogazo. La

Mout cas, de seme, de mancon

EMOS to Uniforme Canvaince ...

control of about a such a

de mes finentions et il vent

tuning in

#### SOME

### REFLECTIONS

ONTHE

Present STATE of the NATION,

Principally with regard to her

TAXES and her DEBTS;

AND ON THE

CAUSES and CONSEQUENCES of them.

Mihi autem non minori curae est qualis respublica post mortem meam futura sit, quam qualis hodie sit.

CIC. in LAEL.

By the late Right Honorable

HENRY ST. JOHN,
LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

# KELLEGITOGES

Larra Manie di mir de

Preferit Secretaries the Warrow.

Podrigally with report to her

Taxes and her Dears;

SET NO GEA

Carrage and Controprenous of incom-

Misi serere non minori curre el quella refpublica ped mortem means fetara lis, quane qualis nonir tit. Cto in Lazzo

By the late Might Honorable

HENRY BY SE. JOHN, LORD VINCOURT BOLINGBROKE. TATES THE STATE

# REFLECTIONS

wards, and surido, the proceedings our own country, but

## Present STATE of the NATION,

Principally with regard to her

TAXES and her DEBTS;

menns of shirt in Ordina houb.

CAUSES and Consequences of them.

SINCE we are got out of a war, the least successful, and the most expensive, that this nation ever made; after having taken part threescore years together, like principal actors, in all the other wars X 2 and

and all the negotiations of the continent; it is time, surely, that we recal our attention homewards, and consider the present state of our own country, particularly with respect to her taxes and her debts; to the nature and application of the former, to the rise and progress of the latter, to the necessity and to the means of diminishing both.

The revolution of our government in one thousand six hundred and eighty eight makes a most remarkable aera in the history of Britain on many accounts, and on none more, than on that which is the subject of these papers. The public revenue, in net money, amounted,

## OF THE NATION. 325

at that time, to no more, than two millions annually; which were fufficient to defray the ordinary expences of the crown, as well as to maintain a fleet, and a greater army than was necessary for the defence of the country at that time. This revenue was raifed without any tax on land or malt, and by a very lew of those innumerable duties which have been fince laid, to the oppreffion of the landed and mercantile interest of the nation. These duties have been fo mortgaged too, that we are unable, at this time, to fend a cock boat to fea, or to keep a fingle cena land tax. It is to find out

X 3

THE

The public debts, that of the bankers included, amounted to little more than three hundred thousand pounds at the beginning of this aera. They amount now to fourscore millions. To discover how this great change in our national circumstances has been brought about is surely an object of reasonable, and may be such of useful, curiosity.

King William engaged in a necessary war with France as soon as he came to the throne. It was necessary that he should maintain the revolution he had made, and affert his right to the crown he had acquired by the best of all titles, the free gift

## OF THE NATION. 327

gift of a people whom he had delivered from impending deftruction, from popery and flavery. This war might be thought necessary too in another respect.

the care of our people, were From the treaty of Westphalia, and from the pyrenean, to the accession of king WILLIAM to our throne, the power and ambition of France had grown up together, and were become exorbitant. No efforts had been made fufficient to reduce, scarce any sufficient to resist, the former. No measures had been concerted, no preparations had been made, to disappoint the latter in that great object, X 4 France

the acquisition of the spanish monarchy to the house of Bourbon. From the revolution this alarm was taken, which should have been taken fooner. The fpirit of our court was changed, the eyes of our people were opened, and all men faw how necessary it was to preserve, in concert with the Spaniards, the fuccession of their monarchy to the house of Austria, inflead of fuffering it to fall into that of Bourbon, which was excluded from it by the most for lemn engagements (15 3010) the former. No measures had

throne at the eve of another great war, of a war against

#### OF THE NATION. 329

France and Spain, which her predecessor was ready to undertake, the he had not actually declared it when he died, in order to procure some reasonable satisfaction to the emperor for a succession, which had been then lost to his family by his own fault.

King William, who engaged for so much more in the first grand alliance, would engage for no more than this in the second. But the private interest of her ministers, the intrigues of her allies, and the rashness of a party, drew the queen much further and it must be confessed that a subserviency to the

the court of Vienna, which has coft us so dear, began in her time, not in king Wullam's, tho her heart was, what she declared it to be, entirely english, and tho he was censured, I think very unjustly, for too great regard to foreign interests and too little for those of Britain.

THE war king WILLIAM waged was not very successful: and yet, if the emperor would have consented to send his second son into Spain during the life of CHARLES the second, king WILLIAM would have succeeded in both the objects of this war. He had maintained himself on the throne, and had obliged France

France to promife that she would not disturb him in the possesfion of it. As to the other object, no treaties of partition would have been thought neceffary by him in that case; neither would this nation have had any thing more too do, when the spanish succession was open, than to support, with the concurrence of that whole nation, an austrian prince, who was actually on the fpot with an austrian army, and who had been already declared prefumptive heir. Thus we might have had a defensive war to make with great advantages on our fide; and the events of the offensive war, which we were obliged

obliged to make afterwards fhew fufficiently what would have been the fuccels of the other. The councils of Vienna laid us wantonly, if I may fay fo, under great difadvantages? and king WILLIAM therefore refolved, like a wife prince, to expole neither this country, not his own, to the hard talk of recovering the whole spanish monarchy out of the hands of PHILIP. He accommodated his fystem to the circumstances of the time and airhed at one more now; than to force the Frenchand Spaniards to scome into some composition about the austrian pretensions, about trade, about barriers, and about obliged effecof THE NATION. 333 effectual means to hinder a future union of France and Spain under one monarch.

that, and finded by the

This was all that he meaned. But they, who delighted in war because they hoped to get immenfely by it, and they, who amused themselves and others with vain speculations about a thing very real in itself, about a balance of power, enfnared both England and Holland into engagements for dethroning PHI-LIP and fetting up CHARLES in his room, tho we had acknowledged the former, tho the Castilians were strongly attached to him, and tho he was in quiet possession of the spanish dominions

Flattered by groundless hopes of a revolution in favor of his rival, and flushed by the first success of our arms, this precipitate engagement was approved and supported by us, notwithstanding the absurd conduct of the emperor, and the wife reserve of king William; both of which should have put us more on our guard, and have made us less sanguine.

It is perhaps worth while to make an observation in this place, which was made at the time we speak of by Spaniards, who acknowledged Philip the fifth of THE NATION. 335
fifth in compliance with the
will of CHARLES the second,
and yet were averse to the influence and authority which
France assumed over them. They
observed, that Cromwell had
forced them to give their infanta
to Lewis the sourteenth, by
joining his arms with those of
France against them, and that
we went about to force them,
half a century afterwards, by
a new war, to an absolute dependance on France.

THE court of Vienna, defirous to acquire the italian dominions, and too indifferent about Spain and the West-Indies, made her profit of our rashness.

ness. She left the whole weight of the war on England and Holland. She did worfe. She not only neglected the war by contributing little or nothing to it, except the name of Auftria and the claims of that family; the facrificed the fuccess of the common cause, for so it was called improperly enough by her, whenever any little inferior interest, that seemed to be hers more immediately, came in the way: by which she not only prolonged the war, but increased the annual expence of it to England and Holland, without taking any share in this expence on herfelf that deferves to be mentioned. o . hor north

Experience was loft upon us. Our political delirium continued. It grew in some fort habitual by the artifice employed at home, and by the victories obtained abroad. The war languished however upon the whole, notwithstanding our utmost efforts; the weight of Austria grew every year heavier on us, whilst that of Spain grew every year lighter on France; the Spaniards were able to defend themselves against us at last, and the fuccess of our enemies in Spain made them amends for our victories in Flanders.

THE dethronement of PHILIP
in favor of CHARLES was become evidently a chimerical project in the year one thousand seven

ven hundred and ten, at the latest, and it became in the sollowing year so ineligible, by the death
of the emperor Joseph, to whom
his younger brother Charles succeeded, that one cannot conceive
the men, who clamored for it,
even then to have been in earnest; since their aim, in that case,
must have been to set the imperial and spanish crowns on the
same head, against the common
interest of Europe and the sundamental principle of the war.

But the we could not conquer Spain by a war, we might have reduced the exorbitant power of France by a peace. We might have stripped her of that barrier wherein this exorbitant power

€on-

consisted chiefly; as every man, who knew what he meaned when he talked of this exorbitant power, must have intended. We might have laid her as open to the incursions of her neighbours, as her neighbours were to hers; as open as she had been when a prince Casimir, or any other general of Reitres, could penetrate, without a siege, and sometimes without a battle, into the heart of her provinces.

But we would not do the latter, because we could not do the
former. We acted like men who
thought that the exorbitant power
er of one family could not be reduced, unless a power as exorbit
tant was raised in another; and
Y 2 who

who never looked back to preceding centuries to confider the usurpations, the tyranny, and the bigotry that the house of Austria had exercised in the sulness of her power, and would exercise again if she was ever restored to the same.

CAPIMIR. OF SUPPORTER

We were disappointed in our great political views, after two wars that had lasted twenty five years with a very short interval between them. We had done our utmost to defeat that scheme of ambition France had opened to herself, and of danger to all her neighbours, by the pyrenean treaty: and, the this danger affected us less than any other nation engaged in the alliance, we had

had exhausted ourselves to maintain it.

Live conjequences. It was his WHEN king WILLIAM entered, immediately after the revolution, on this great scene of action, the unincumbered condition of this nation, which has been hinted at above, was fuch, that he might have been supported in it, by good management, as profufely as he was, and even more effectually, by the revenue then subsisting, by a land-tax, by the excise on malt, and by some additional fubfidies, all of which would have been raised within the year. A scheme of this kind was prepared and offered. It was allowed to be practicable: but it was rejected for a reason that appeared plau-Y 3

plaufible in political refinement, and has proved most pernicious in it's consequences. It was said that a new government, established against the antient principles, and actual engagements of many, could not be fo effectually fecured any way, as it would be if the private fortunes of great numbers were made to depend on the preservation of it; and that this could not be done unless they were induced to lend their money to the public, and to accept securities under the prefent establishment. Thus the method of funding, and the trade of stock-jobbing began. Thus were great companies created, the pretended fervants, but in many refpects

OF THE NATION. 343

spects the real masters of every administration of beautiful deb

I no not pretend to determine how far the wifdom of our legiflature might have provided, at the beginning of the new war, against the growth and spreading of that carcerous humor, which had begun to knaw our vitals in the former. All I am to observe is, that, a moneyed interest being firmly established by this time, and fuch numbers being accuflomed to make immense profit at the public expence, there is no room to wonder if we proceeded on the same plan during the reign of queen Anne. We did fo : and the debts contracted in this war being added to these Y 4 gave

of the former, the whole of our debt amounted to little less than fifty millions.

HAVING accumulated so immense a debt, the queen put an end to the war. She could not attempt to alter the system of it whilst it continued, without throwing the whole alliance into consusion, after some of the principal allies had declared, on the death of Joseph, that they would not consent Charles should be king of Spain as well as emperor.

The interest of Britain required, no doubt, that we should turn our eyes from the continent to our own island, and that we should improve the opportunity and the advantages which a peace gave have been propagated industrioully against that of Utrecht, thus much at least is certain: we were obliged no longer by treaties to assume any other part in the affairs of the continent, than that which the immediate interest of our own country required. The opportunity and the means of diminishing taxes, reviving commerce, and paying debts were open to us.

This pacific scheme ought to have been pursued, no doubt, till we had retrieved our affairs, and recovered our former strength in some good degree, and till we were prepared to take any part in suture events, which our honor or interest might require. Nay, this

this scheme was the more necesfary to be purfued; if France was left too powerful, no matter by whose fault, as I am ready to admit that the was; and if the two branches of Bourbon were to be looked upon in this century, like the two branches of Austria in the last, as inseparable allies, united by blood and by joint ambition. It was the more easy to be purfued too, because a long minority was beginning in France, and many other circumstances of characters and of fituation, extremely favorable to it, concurred in that court and country.

The should have been the scheme of our policy; but und happily it was note Thenlate king,

2

king, as elector of Hanover, had reason, no doubt, to defire the acquifition of Bremen and Verden. Our nation contributed to it with her money, and forced it with her arms; tho it was made in contradiction to the engagements that the crown of England had taken when king WILLIAM gave his guaranty to the treaty of Travendahl. This acquisition became the first link of a political chain, by which we were dragged back into new and expensive broils, the confequent ces whereof we feel at this hour." adien, that the restwof quade

When the king acquired thele dutchies, it became necessary to procure the investiture of them and I will say, because I can demon-

monstrate, that these investitures might have been procured, and the emperor flattered with the acquifition of Sicily, by measures as effectual, and much more confiftent with former treaties and the public tranquillity, than those that were taken. The house of Austria facrificed the success of the war to the immediate acquisition of Naples. We facrificed all the advantages of the peace, to procure her that of Sicily in the manner we did procure it. I have heard it faid, whilst these affairs were in transaction, that the treaty of quadruple alliance would complete that of Utrecht. But the event has shewn, and it was obvious to foresee, that one of these treaties would

would unravel the system of the other. If we had maintained the neutrality of Italy, as we were obliged to do by treaty, even indulging the emperor in the acquisition of Sicily, and yielding to the house of Savoy the eventual fuccessions which we stipulated should be given to Spain; the intention of the treaty of Utrecht would have been preferved, and France by concurring in these measures would have shewn her sincerity in maintaining the fettlement of Europe. But when the became a party to the quadruple alliance, the meaned nothing more than to give the spanish branch of Bourbon an opportunity of reannexing to that crown the italian dominions:

her bubbles when we triumphed that she entered into the quadruphe alliance, and made a sham war to oblige Philip to accede to it.

the acquisition of As long, then, as there were hopes of obtaining an extraordinary investiture of Bremen and Verden, we flattered the emperor at no small expence. As soon as it became apparent that this investiture could be obtained in no other manner than it had been granted formerly, we infulted him. We imputed to him defigns, he has constantly difowned, and we have never proved; after which we complained of his ingratitude, we threatened war, and we prepared for it by

by maintaining, with great profusion, a standing army of Helfians in Germany. The fame men, who complained fo lately that France had been left too powerful by the treaty of Utrecht, and that great danger would arise from her close connection with Spain, complained now of the too great power of the house of Austria, and of the danger that would arise from a good understanding between the emperor and king PHILIP. In short, our politics were not only variable, but incomprehenfible to every man who knew the state and interest of Great Britain, but was not so well apprised of the several turns of interest which were to be ferved abroad.

WHEN

WHEN our ministers had once departed from the Araight line of british policy, the difficulty of returning to it became every year greater, and the inclination every year lefs. We continued bufy and buftling in every court of Europe. We negotiated against the emperor in concert with France, and gave her thereby the means of regaining more of that credit and influence in the empire, which fhe had formerly had, than the could have acquired without our affiftance. We contrived to make peace abroad almost as chargeable to us as war. Abuses of every kind were suffered at home. Trade was neither eased nor encouraged; and the a threade buy grad

Mar W.

## OF THE NATION. 353

gradual payment of our debt was utterly neglected by a minifter rather defirous to keep his country under this oppression, than ignorant of the means to deliver her from it. Whilst we acted in this manner; France grew frugal, she made the debts the could not pay fit more lightly on her, she raised her credit, and the extended her commerce. In short, her strength increased, and ours diminished. We were reduced to a state of weakness we had never felt before; and this very weakness was urged as a reason for bearing tamely the losses our merchants fustained; and all the affronts our government received, left we should be drawn into a war by using repri-Z

uns utterly neglected by a senit

As tame as we were, the infolence of the Spaniards, the reasonable impatience of our merchants, and this very tameness of our government, made a sea-war unavoidable, just before the death of the emperor CHARLES the fixth; which event brought the principal powers of Europe into the field, fet the whole continent in a flame, and formed one of those conjunctures, wherein our honor and interest may oblige us to take a part, and for which therefore we should always be prepared. and all the a

WE were in no degree fo prepared, after fix or feven and twenty

twenty years of peace: and yet when we took a part, we took the most lavish and the most impolitic that we could take. It was a miserable part by sea at first and through the whole course of the war by land. I shall recall neither what we did, nor what we neglected to do; and I with, for the honor of my country, that the whole may be buried in oblivion. Thus much only it is to my purpose to observe. First, that our councils feemed to be the echoes of those free-booters, TRENCK and MENTZEL, who talked of nothing less than conquering the two Alfatias and the three bishoprics, and of laying Champagne waste, whilst all our offensive projects on the Rhine Z 2

were daily disappointed: and secondly, that we declined all overtures of peace, when the seat of the war was transferred, with great advantage to France, from Germany to the Netherlands, where we resolved to wage it whether the Dutch would or no, and where we were beat on every spot on which my lord Marlborough had conquered.

EVERY defeat in this war, like every triumph in the last, became a reason for continuing it: and this management, when no avowable reason could be given for it, gave suspicious and resining persons occasion to throw out a great deal of slander: for such, I hope, it was. In short, whatever the reasons

reasons were, we continued this inauspicious war so long, and we pushed it so far beyond our strength, that we were within a few months of bankruptcy, when the French granted us, miraculoufly, the fame terms that they would have granted two or three years before; and when they might have marched without much trouble or opposition, after taking Maestricht, into the heart of the Seven Provinces: for our last resource, a muscovite army, was too far off to have enabled ours to make a stand.

By making the war in the Low Countries almost wholly at our own expence, and without any prospectof success, we meaned to Z 3 cause

cause such a diversion to the forces of France, as might leave Germany nothing to fear on the Rhine, and as might give time and opportunity to the empress queen to drive the French and Spaniards out of Lombardy. We facrificed ourselves for these purposes: but in this war, as in the last, the court of Vienna facinficed nothing. From the time the French had been obliged, more by the fickness of their troops and the ill conduct of their generals, than by the force of her arms, to abandon Germany, the empress queen seemed to make war just as it funded her convehiency, to fave all the expence The could in the Netherlands, wie plunder all the could in Italy, and

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to make us pay the whole immenta fubfidies which we gave amuse and impose drodingh red

excels of our zeal. And w

In the Netherlands we were outnumbered vally by the deficichoies of her quotass and in Italy, where we had thrown the Genoclainto the arms of France and Spain, with great and just indigitation against bestor the treatylud had made at Worms, and had, showever, obliged them to Submit lafter the battle of Placentiab welloft the whole advantage of it by the infatiable avarice and extreme brutality of the Austrians, Volt we continued out efforts on that fide still; and the shamdiege of Genea, for it was no more, and the harmless inva-Z 4 fions fixteen

# 360 OF THE STATE

fions of Provence and Dauphiny had no other meaning, than to amuse and impose on us in the excess of our zeal.

Our expences in every part of this strange war, particularly in the Netherlands, were made without meafure, because without control; as they will be foon convinced who look into the artillery, forage, hospital, and other contingent accounts. The parliamentary aids from the year one thousand feven hundred and forty exclusively, to the year one thousand seven hundred and forty eight inclusively, amount to fifty five millions five hundred twenty two thousand nine hundred fifty nine pounds fixteen

# OF THE NATION. 361

fixteen shillings and three pence, and the new debt we have contracted to more than thirty millions; which are near twenty millions more of debt than France has contracted in the fame time: a fum that will appear incredible to future generations, and is fo almost to the present. There are three reflections to be made on this state, which must add to our aftonishment. First, that the greatest part of this vast expence has been granted on account of the war, chiefly fince there remained no reason for continuing it; that is, fince the time when it was in our power to have a peace at least as good as that we have now obtained; and I place this aera no higher than the

year one thousand seven hundred and forty feven inclusively, tho I might place it higher, perhaps, on very good grounds W Second ly, that the debt contracted lin it exceeds by much that of king WILLIAM'S COP that not queen Anne's war in the both of them were much longer, and the last not only more widely forced but carried into countries the diffance of which and many other circumstances increased every article of pur expense extraordinarily vallerdly that twe have thrownaby our negotiations and by the late wat, into the hands of the house of Bourbon much more dominion fin Italy, than would have induced the French atGertruydenberg to have recalled PHILIP

PHILIP, and to have given up Spain and the Indiesy which they were ready to do at those conferences, as Buys and Vanderbussen acquainted the ministers of their reports to that assembly.

Bab as our condition is, let us not despair. Not to despair of the commonwealth, whatever her condition be, is the principle of a true patriot, that is, of a faithful servant to his prince and country: and we may find an example to this purpose, which deserves to be quoted, in a book that is in the hands of most peblople, and that, I chope, is not unread at court, I mean whee duke of Sully's Memoirs. In them

we find that HENRY the fourth turned his whole application to every thing, that might be useful or even convenient to his kingdom, without fuffering things that happened out of it to pass unobserved by him, as soon as he had put an end to the civil wars of France, and had concluded a peace with Spain at Vervins. Is there a man, either prince or fubject, who can read, without the most elevated and the most tender sentiments, the language he held to Sully at this time, when he thought himself dying of a great illness he had at Monceaux? "My friend!" faid he, "I have no fear of death. "You, who have feen me expose " my life fo often, when I might " fo

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"fo eafily have kept out of dan"ger, know this better than any
"man. But I must confess that
"I am unwilling to die, before
"I have raised this kingdom to
"the splendor I have proposed
"to myself; and before I have
"shewn my people that I love
"them like my children, by dis"charging them from a part of
"the taxes that have been laid
"on them, and by governing
"them with gentleness."

THE state of France was then even worse than the state of Great Britain is now: the debts as heavy, many of the provinces entirely exhausted, and none of them in a condition of bearing any new imposition. The standing revenues

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revenues brought into the king's coffers no more than thirty millions, tho an hundred and fifty millions were raifed on the people; fo great were the abuses of that government in raising of money: and they were not less in the dispensation of it. The whole scheme of the administration was a scheme of fraud, and all who ferved, cheated the public, from the highest offices down to the lowest, from the commisfioners\* of the treafury down to the under-farmers and the undertreafurers. Sully beheld this ftate of things, when he came to have the fole fuperintendency of affairs, with horror. He was

<sup>\*</sup> Confeilliers dans le confeil des finances.

ready

ready to despairs but he did not despair. Zeal for his mafter, zeal for his country, and this very flate feemingly to desperate, animated his endeavours and the nobleft thought, that ever entered into the mind of a minister, entered into his. He refolved to make, and he made, the reformation of abuses, the reduction of expences, and a frugal management, the finking fund for the payment of national debts, and the fufficient fund for all the great things he intended to do, without overcharging the hands the intercit of this signor and the frenzy of religion,

HE succeeded in all. The people were immediately eased, trade revived, the king's coffers were

were filled, a maritime power was created, and every thing neceffary was prepared to put the nation in a condition of executing great designs whenever great conjunctures should offer themselves. Such was the effect of twelve years of wife and honest administration: and this effect would have shewed itself in great enterprises against the house of Austria, more formidable in those days than the house of Bourbon has been in ours, if HENRY the fourth had not been stabled by one of those affassins, into whose hands the interest of this house, and the frenzy of religion, had put the dagger more than once.

WHEN

#### OFTHE NATION. 369

Wasn we confider in thefe memorials, and in others which are come down to us, the deplorable condition to which France was Aredoced at the end of the fixteenth century we feel found of that horse which Soury himfelf felt mand are ready to conn fefsy that the mine of that kings dominibankruptcy, and confin fions count have followed; if the opportunity, which this peaceful conjuncture gave, had not been improved immediately and as wifely, and as wigginauly as ait awa shall we not fee our own deplorable conditions and the nen cessary consequences of it, in the fame light? Shell we not be much more strongly affected by them? Are we not as near to bank-Aa

bankruptcy; anobe french Wiatibir was at that time, and much more fortham theyware atothis time: 7 May not confusion follow: it is there, bas well as there Bot And finally, may moty the joint ambition of two branches of Bourson in force future conjuncture, produce effects as faral, and and much more to tous, if we continue in out prelent date of importance Mi fach a leonjuneture happens, as were to be feared by Prance? at the time we speak of vorom the joint ambition of two branches of Austria to In Tholigi we have much to apprehend, vinlessime have the courage and the virtue to probe our domestic wounds to the bottom, and to apply immediately not palliative, Abut mehe most

most specific remedies. If we do this; instead of fearing others, we may become once more formidable ourselves. But this is certain, that they, who get first out of a distress common to us and to our neighbours, will give the law to the rest.

Ir may be faid, that we have no Surlies among us. I shall not take on me to determine whether we have or no. But I, will venture to say, after Sully himself, that altho good princes may be wanting to good ministers; yet good ministers will never be wanting to a prince, who has differnment enough to find them, who chuses them for their, superior parts, experience, and, A a 2

integritys and who resolves to specific the state that the fourth supported Success against favorite mistresses, the calculate of the court, and the factions of the state court, and to a difficult court, will give and to our neighbours, will give

Ir may be faid again; white king of France has power enough by the confliction of that government to support a minister who checks corruption, reforms about ules, and maintains a frugal may nagement of the public revenue But it may be afked, how a mis milter, who ofhoulds undertakes this, could be supported in a government like ours twhere he would be Jure to have foil his enemies all those, who have shard ed to long the public spoils, or who -53111

who hope to lhare them, and where these enemies would have the means and opportunities of Supplanting bits, honvillistand ing the protection of his mafter? I answer, by the parliament. How many ministers have there been, to whom much national mischief was imputed juffly, and no one national good could be ascribed, and who were long supported by the favor of the crown, and by the concurrence of the two howless which this favor and their own management procured them? Shall these supports be sufficient for a wicked on a weak minister; and shall innogence, and ability, with the same favor and better management, be reckoned for nothing ! I cannot think for ill, wins Aa3 even

even of the present age, as degenerate as it is. It is degenerate no doubt but I have heard men complain of this degeneracy, who promoted it first, and sought their excuse in it afterwards.

many ministers have there been,

The delegated power of aminister, under the legal prerogatives of the crown, is sufficient to carry on a system of reformation and frugality in the ordinary course of things, if the minister really intends it: and whenever extraordinary powers are wanting for extraordinary operations, as they must be in such a state as ours, they will be effectual, if granted; and if resuled, they who resule them, not the minister, will suffer by the resulal, and be answer-

answerable to the nation for it. The moneyed man may continue to enjoyla little more revenue by this refusal: but his forme will be more precarious, and more liable to some futilité reverse. The merchant will continue to tradefithe danded man to plow and fow without even a prospect of being relieved from their fervitude, mot for the honest credit tors alone, but for afterers and flock-jabbers, for those leeches who fill themselves continually with themblood of the nation, and never cease to fuck it. The nation in the mean time will be reduced to the utmost poverty: andritibehoves those planticularly, who have brought us for near it, tomhew that this was not their object, Aa4 mory

ebject, by concurring zealoully with thole, who have used, and will continue to use their best endeavours to prevent it have side erom has succineary erom ad

Twe difficulties we have to feruggle with would not be fo great as they are, notwithstanding the immense profusion to which the late war gave occasion and pretence; if we did not feel in this instance, as we feel in others, the fatal confequences of a precedent administration. The payment of our debts might have been eafily provided for in that time: nay, fourteen years, which are little more than two thirds of it, would have been fufficient to reduce them to twenty millions. If this had been done, the meobjects mory

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mory of the perion, who was at the head of that administration, and had the fole power of it, might have deserved honor.

than kill, to break our conflict LET us nourish in ourselves, and cultivate in others, fentiments more elevated than these, and more worthy of the british genius. The greater our national distress and danger are, the greater should the efforts be of every particular man to relieve his country from one, and thereby to guard it against the other. We are in a crisis that must turn either to life or death, and that cannot turn to the former unless remedies are applied much more effectual than those of mountes banks, who find their account in palliating

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palliating evils and in prolonging diseases. To palliate and to prolong would be, in our case, to kill, or to do something worse than kill, to break our constitution entirely, to render an accidental illness habitual and incursable.

One or two shillings in the pound, it is said, will be lessened this year upon land; and whatever is wanting for the current service, over and above the two shillings that remain, and the malt; will be borrowed on the credit of the sinking-sund at three percent. The bait will be tempting; for so must every diminution of taxes be to those who have crouched so long under the weight, of so many.

that it will be no more than a bait; and that they, who swall low it, will have reason to repent of their rashness, when they find, as they will find very probably, that the natural effect of such measures must prevent the difficharge of any considerable part of our debt, except in a term of years much longer than the prosperity and even the safety of our government admits.

I say the fafety, as well as the prosperity and some reflections very plain and obvious, the made by few, will justify me for saying so. As to the first, trade gave us wealth, wealth gave us power, and power raised our island to be,

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France. If we define to return into the same state, we must return by the same state, we must return by the same steps, which raised us to it; and he who should make a sicheme for the improvement of our debts, without a principal regard to the improvement of our trade, would make a very filly scheme. But it would be just as silly, to make a scheme for both in such a manner, as would render neither practicable.

The necessity of diminishing taxes, in order to improve our trade, becomes a good reason, not for the strange purpose to which it is applied by some, but for hastering all the operations necessary to fink our debts, in order

OF THE NATION. 384

to hasten that diminution of taxa es, which will become practicable when a part of our delites funks and which will facilitate extreme ly the discharge of the restinction truth is that if we defer these do perations biogolong win may be never able to perform them with equal advantage nor by keep ing pece with our neighbours, to renew our finength as fall, as they are intent to renew theirs on Our neighbours have fuffered by for mer waits and have been exhaulted by the last, as well, the, I apa prehendo not to much as wev France for infrance, has contracted in the late war no more than one third of the additional debt we have contracted in it, as I believe on very good authority: and fhe 2A

the has been able to allign funds, which pay the interest of this debt regularly, and fink yearly a part of the principal. I am not fo well apprised of the actual state of Spain. But the treasures of the West Indies are poured into her daily; and as the has been long recovered, or recovering, from her antient indolence and ignorance, the feems to apply herfelf to the augmentation vof her maritime force, to the improvement of her trade, and even to that of dome-Air manufactures. In a word what has been faid before may be repeated here: they, who get foonest out of the present common diffres, will give the law to others, or be at least in a condition of not receiving it from any one. SIL As

As tonational fafety; we shall dowell to observe how much the fystem of dominion and power in Europe is les lavorable at prefent to our political interests and views, than it was when we undertook to mend it. Spain was fallingasbutinot fallengintosthe hands of France, at the beginning no othis century sand tho the spanish nation, was well as equet, gave their monarchy afterwards to a prince of the house of Bourbon, that they might prevent the difmemberment of it; yet they were averse enough, by long habits of hostility, to a french government. Fortune and we have done to well at last, that these two nations are now closely united by interest and by habit,

bit, and that Spain is therefore more than vever effranged from us: the proofs of which are not only recent, but, I dear, actual of the allerent invited mo or that

THE frontier of France has been the great support of heren orbitant power, as wifemen forb faw fourflore years ago, when Law is the fourteenth began to raife that wall of brais which reaches from the Alps tothe Odean, that it would become. This frontier is now more compact than lever by the acquisition of Loranno The branches voft the house of Bourbon have daken root in Italy as well as in Spain France has learned by experience to raisevand to maintain her seed dit and to extendilier commerce for

for the protection and support whereof she seems more attentive than ever to increase her strength by sea: a strength she will always exert with great advantage over us in some respects, I mean in those of order, srugal management, and strict discipline.

THE whole empire, except Bavaria and Cologn, was attached to us by inclination, as well as interest, in the war which began with this century. It is much otherwise now: and we may say, I sear, too truly, that the influence of France in Germany is little inserior to what it was whilst the league of the Rhine subsisted.

and Bb tod to Tue

THE dutch commonwealth, our best ally, and in some fort a barrier to Great Britain, is in a state of dissolution; and has not, either without, or within herself, those means of recovery by conjuncture and by character, that she has had on several occasions from the time her government was first formed.

This short state may serve to shew how difficult it will be, till we have paid a good part of our debt, and restored our country in some measure to her former wealth and power, to maintain the dignity of Great Britain, to make her respected abroad, and secure from injuries, or even affronts, on the part of her neighbours. This may

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may appear easy, for aught I know, to some men. But, fure I am, it would appear difficult to Burkston and Walsing ham, if they were to rise from the dead; notwithstanding the success they had in queen Einzapern's reign by doing much at little expense, and by employing management much more than force it was a promise a summal by little expense.

These reflections, and such as they suggest naturally to the mind, make it evident, that the suture prosperity and safety of this country depend on the speedy diminution of our national debts. Nothing else can secure us effectually against contingent events that may be of satal consequence to both. Recent expended

rience has shewn how unfit we are become in every respect, except the courage of our common feamen and foldiers, to engage in war. We shall not therefore, I suppose, provoke it easily, or soon. But war may be brought upon us, tho we should not provake it, norgo to the continent to feek it. Nay, we may be reduced to the melancholly dilemma of increasing our annual expence to affert our rights, to protect our trade, and to maintain our dignity; or of fitting tamely down and facrificing them all. I think, nay I hope, that we should not do the last: and yet we should have much greater difficulties to fruggle with in our present situation, than we had in the former, great

sactoir

as they were, if we attempted to do what was then fo shamefully neglected. We cannot increase our expences now, nor shall we be able to do fo till some part of our national debt be discharged, without mortgaging on the remainder of the finking fund; which would foon take away all hope of ever paying any part of this debt, and leave us nothing to mortgage but our land and our malt: whereas if a confiderable part of this debt was discharged before any new war broke out, or we were reduced to any fuch dilemma as I have mentioned, we should find ourselves, whilst it lasted, in a much better condition of defence or offence, and we might be able, as foon as it B b 3

was over, to refume the same or perations, and to proceed in our great domestic concern.

and ton thoir technology

THESE confiderations will have great weight with men, who are able to combine all that is to be combined on fuch an important occasion, and, by reflecting on the past, and by observing the present, to judge of the future, The only effectual, and therefore necessary, remedies may appear violent, even to them: but they will confider, and every man ought to confider, that if we cannot bear our distemper, and will not bear our cure, the political body must perish. This miferable state will create justly the indignation of mankind. But this indithell hear the relationalist con

The moneyed men will complain loudly that they are exposed to perpetual reductions of interest, which have served to no other purpose, than to nourish the profusion of successive administrations: and, if this was to continue, their complaints would be just, and the hardships imposed upon them intolerable. It is, therefore, just that neither they should consent to this new reduction.

Bb4

tion of interest, which may be called a new tax upon them, nor the landed men to the continuance of that old and heavy tax on land, unless they have the utmost fecurity that the whole shall be applied to it's proper use. There will be still complaints; and we shall hear the melancholly condition, to which the widow and the orphan, whose small but sole fortunes are in the funds, will be reduced, most pathetically difplayed. The answer will be, however, obvious. If the widow and the orphan, who have their estates in money, fuffer by the reduction of interest; the widow and the orphan, who have their estates in land, will fuffer by the continuance of the tax upon it: and both COL one recorded and and area

Bur the truth is, that the feeble voice of the widow and the orphan will be little heard. The great din will be raifed by stockjobbers and usurers, by the principal men in our great companies, who, born to ferve and to obey, have been bred to command even government itself. These men will roar aloud, and endeavour, by filent intrigue, as well as by noise, to obstruct every measure that tends to emancipate government out of their hands, to make the exchequer, what it ought to be, the great spring of public credit, and the great scene of all tranftransactions relative to public receipts and payments.

reduces West

LET these men learn therefore to fubmit, and to reason, as old BATEMAN did, when the reduction of interest was agreed to in the year one thousand seven hundred and feventeen. He told my lord STANHOPE, he was glad this resolution had been taken; because, tho his interest diminished, he should think his principal more fecure than ever. On the whole, complaints from this quarter will make little impression on a minister, who knows, that the such men have been employed whilft new debts were to be contracted every year, and the public, like an extravagant spendthrift, was obliged

Much opposition will arise from two other quarters, the country and the court; in which I should apprehend that the least plausible might be the most successful.

THE

THE landed man will think it hard, that he is not suffered to enjoy a little ease after having borne the burden and heat of the day during a long course of expenfive peace and of ruinous war. All that can be faid, to perfuade him that an immediate diminution of the land-tax is contrary to his interest, will pass for deception and paradox. He will be apt to reason like his country tenants, who are always frightened at an immediate expence, tho remote and yet great profit must be the certain consequence of it. Let fuch a man look back then, and take his lesson from what is past. He will find that, whilst he winked at profusion because he was flattered by abatements

ments on the land-tax, debts were contracted that have coft him much more, than the continuance of that tax would have coft him. If we look back to the first ten years of his present majesty's reign, we shall find this very remarkably verified. Let the fame man, after he has looked back, look forward again. He will fee, that as any diminution of the land-tax to be supplied out of the produce of the finking fund, or by borrowing even at three per cent. on the credit of it, must prevent, or retard, which may be equivalent to preventing, the discharge of any considerable part of our debt; so he will continue exposed to have the whole tax laid anew, on the first occafion -VOICELL

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He may find himself, after a little respite, under the load of the same tax, and of an increased debt: and this may be all he will get by refusing to bear a little longer, for his own sake, and for an important object, what he has borne several years for the sake of others, and for the support of a most unfuccessful war; for such it may be reckoned, after the French were beat at Dettinghen.

On the other side, if he is wife enough to desire that the four shillings in the pound be continued for a few years, he will have his share in the common benefits of diminishing public debts, increasing public credit, improv-

improving trade, and reftoring national prosperity. He may entertain the comfortable hope of a time, when he, or his posterity, will have no need of confenting to any tax at all on land in time of peace; fince the annual produce of other funds will be fooner or later, in this method, sufficient to defray the annual expence of the government. He may acquire an advantage that will make him ample amends for what it cost him. Such of the taxes, whether of excise or of customs, as bear hardest on the poor laborers and on our own manufactures, may be reduced, gradually at least, without any considerable interruption of the operations necessary to discharge our national debt:

debt: and tho he is little accustomed to think himself as much affected by other taxes, as he is by the land-tax, he will foon perceive, that a faving on every thing he eats, drinks, or wears, is a lasting and a large repayment of what this tax took from him whilft he confented to continue it. He will find himself a gainer, not only by what he faves in his expences, but by the improvement of his estate; for the whole fystem of national wealth and prosperity are intimately connected. soco ens no signard red

THE courtier will complain loudly, authoritatively, and pompoully, that any retrenchments on our annual expences may do more

ardi en out own manufacture

more durb than the faving can do goodlo But lobelieve bit linot hard sion fliew, that three shiltings men thees faillings and fire pencerin sthempoundluquedand, leaving the rest of the four shidlings to go to the anking and, would be more than dufficient to answer all necessary experices in are nom on Wife mon are able to do a great deal with a livthe every knave of fool is heady toudoral fittle with a great deal. The former know that good policy confits in observing two forts of occonomy, the greater and the less to proportion, by the first, our expences to our dircumflances and to those of our neighbours, and to do in with the utmost frugality that these circumstances Cc

#### 1402 OF THE STATE

cumstances combined together will admit : to controll, by the -fecond, in the most strict and regular manner, the dispensation of the public treasure from the highest down to the lowest of fices of the flate. It is of the utmost importance, at this time especially, that both these kinds of oeconomy be practifed. Our well-being, even our security depends upon them. If we do not pay our debts, we must fink under the load of them: and if we go about to pay them, without practifing these two forts of occonomy, the ridiculous figure, which I have feen in a dutch print, of a man toiling and sweating to cord a rope of hay whilf an als bites it off at the other end 25

100 pd liw, the corps of as that as will make all furmolding to the carried on at a cheaper rate for

EXTREME frugality was one of the means employed by the great minister who has been quoted above : and the fucces he had, in fimilar circumstances, should encourage the practice of the same frugality in ours. But he employed another expedient likewife, which is not less necessary here than it was there, nor in our time than it was in his. The expedient I mean, is that of reforming abuses. Sully rendered this reformation no inconfiderable fund for the payment of public debts. Whether we can do fo, as effectually as he did, or no, I determine not. But thus much

is

Cc2

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is certain! fuch a reformation will make all future fervices be carried on at a cheaper rate for the public; and faving is often the furest way of gaining. Materials might be collected, not for a pamphlet, but for as regular treatife under diffine heads, concerning the abuses and corruptions which prevail among us in every part of the public fervice, and concerning the confequences of them: I know not tee whether some work of this kind should not be undertaken, as invidious as it may feem, if nothing is done to reform these abules, and to extinguish this cordebts. Whether we cannot with as effectually as he did, or no, I

menecicany as no did, or no, I rantanine not. Ber thus much

i sopy

#### OFTHE NATION. 195

THEY were creeping forward long ago i but fince a certain period, they have advanced with very large Strides A Frauds were connived at, perhaps encouraged, and corruption was propagated formerly by principal men, who had, for the most part, more ambition than avarice, and who raised, by these means, a formidable party that might support them in power. But in process of time, and in favorable conjunctures, the contagion role higher, and spread still wider; principal men became parties to the greatest frauds; and the higheft of those who governed, and the lowest of those who were go verned, contributed, in their des grees, to the universal rapines Cc3 The

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The greatest particular cheat, whereof any example can be found, was, I believe, that which arrears of subsidies to foreign princes, and arrears of pay to foreign troops; gave the opportunity and the means of executing.

I AM sensible, that the representation I have made of the degeneracy of our age and people,
may give occasion to say, that
the very things I have been pleading for are impracticable. It
will be asked, what expectation
can be entertained of raising a
disinterested public spirit among
men, who have no other principle
than that of private interest, who
are individuals rather than sellowcitizens, who prey on one another,

other, and are, in a state of civil fociety, much like to Hobbes's men in his supposed state of nature? I must agree, tho unwillingly, that the enterprise is difficult. But the more difficult it is, if nothing less can relieve us from the load of debt we lie under, nor prevent the consequences of lying under it much longer; every attempt to raise this spirit, and to promote these measures, even the weakest, even mine, is commendable. The landed men are the true owners of our political vessel: the moneyed men, as fuch, are no more than passengers in it. To the first, therefore, all exhortations to assume this spirit should be addressed. It is their part to fet the example: and when they Cc4 Haldw

they do to, they have a right to expect that the passengers should contribute their proportion to fave the veffel. If they should prove refractory, they must be told that there is a law in behalf of the public, more facted, and more antient too, for it is as an tient as political fociety, than all those under the terms of which they would exempt themselves from any reduction of interest; and confequently from any reimbursement of their principal; the this reduction and this reimburfement be absolutely neces fary to reftore the prosperity of the nation, and to provide for her fecurity in the mean time. The law I mean, is that which nature and reason dictate, and which

which declares the prefervation of the contemporarie of laws of laws of laws of laws of laws of laws.

If fuch a co-operation of the landed and moneyed interests is once brought about, the way will lie ifmooth before us, and a prospect of national prosperity at the end of it will open before us yearly. Even the prospect will be of greats advantage both at home and abroad. We shall feel it in the rise of our credit; in the confidence which our friends, and in the respect which our enemies, will have for us a refpect that will be due justly to a people who exert to much vigor in the midft of for much diffres, and take effectual measures to restore their

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their national strength, and to resume their former dignity, instead of languishing on, under impotence and contempt.

THE man, who is not fired by fuch confiderations as thefe, must have no elevation of mind, no love for his country, no regard for posterity, nor the least tincture of that public morality which distinguishes a good from a bad citizen. I know that futility, ignorance, and every kind of profligacy are general: but I know too that they are not universals and therefore I do not despair. In all events, the merit of preferving our country from beggary is little inferior to that of preserving it from slavery. They in the

They who engage therefore in fo good a cause, and pursue it steddily in that public spirit, a revival of which can alone fave this nation from milery, from oppreffion, and perhaps from confufion, the usual consequence of the other two; they will deferve better, I prefume to fay, the title of ultimi Britannorum, even if they should be defeated by the worst subjects of Britain, than that usurer BRUTUS, and that fevere exactor of contributions, Cassius, deserved the title of ultimi Romanorum, when they were defeated in another manner by the worst citizens of were Thus a great and coamon

in these papers, and all that might be said, concerning the conduct of the house of Austria, from the reign of king William to the present time; it may be proper to add something by way of precaution, and to prevent very sale conclusions, that many will be ready to draw from very true premisses, and to prevent very sale conclusions, that many will be ready to draw from very true premisses, and to prevent very true premisses, and to prevent very sale conclusions, that many will be ready to draw from very true premisses, and all the world to the premisses and all the world true premisses and all the premisses and all the world true premisses and all the premisses a

It is notoriously true, that a spirit of bigotry, of tyranny, and of avarice in the court of Vienna, maintained long the troubles in Hungary, which might have been appealed much sooner than they were. Thus a great and constant diversion was kept up in favor of France, even at the time when

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the two honfes of Andria and Bourbon were flruggling for that great prize, the frankly facel-fion, till the french troops took possession of Hungary raised contributions in the very suburbs of Viennsymus of the concuston of the

It is notoriously true, that we might have had nothing more than a desensive war, as I have said in the foregoing papers, to make against France, with an austrian prince on the throne of Spain, at the death of Charles the second; if the emperor I coron would have concurred in the wise and practicable meafures which king William progressions of the posed in the death of the progressions and practicable meafures which king William progressions and proceed in the death of the progressions and practicable meafures which king William progressions and procedured in the posed in the death of the progressions are the procedured and practicable meafures which king William progressions are the posed in the progressions and the progressions are the procedured and procedur

might have avoided the defeat at Almanza, and have supported much better the war in Spain; if a predilection for acquisitions in Italy had not determined the councils of Vienna to precipitate the evacuation of Mantua, wherein an army of French was blocked up after the battle of Turin, and which was let loose in this manner, against the opinion of the queen and the states general, ime enough to beat us at Alnanza.

FNALLY, for I will descend into no nore particulars, it is notoriously true, that we might have taken Toulon, and have carried the war not the best provinces of France, France, for which queen ANNE had made, at a vast expence, all the necessary preparations; if the Austrians had not detached, in that very point of time, twelve thousand men on the expedition to Naples, and if prince Eugene had not shewn too visibly, before persons still alive; that the taking of Toulon was the least of his objects.

These facts are sufficient to shew, how much the mistaken policy of the court of Vienna has over-loaded her allies during more than half a century, and has defeated the great design which these allies, and Britain in particular, carried on for her at the expence of infinite blood and treasure.

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treafure. Now there are many in this kingdom very ready to conclude from thefe face, and from others of the lame kind po-Renor to thele, this dirverpe rience should teach us to negled the interests of the house of Au stria, and to be regardless of all that passes on the continent for the time to come. But furely fuch conclusions are very false. The principle of our conduct has been right, and our manner of purfuing it alone wrong. It was our neglect of the general interest of Europe, from the pyrenean treaty to the revolution of our government in one thouland fix hundred and eighty eight, that gave to France a long opportunity, and the means of railing an exor-

exorbitant power. It has been zeal without knowledge, and a ftrange fubserviency to private interests, which have almost exhausted this country, and defeated all our endeavours for the public good, fince that time. This we may alter. The principle of policy we cannot, as long as the division of power and property in Europe continues the same. We are an island indeed: but if a fuperior power gives the law to the continent, I apprehend that it will give it to us too in fome great degree. Our forefathers apprehended, with reason, the exorbitant power of the house of Austria; and thought that the pretentions of Mary queen of Scots might give, even when the Dd was

was a prisoner, opportunity and advantage, as they did no doubt, to this power to disturb our peace, and even to invade our island. The exorbitant power of the two branches of the house of Bourbon give furely in this respect, as well as in others, at least the same cause of apprehension now. It is, therefore, plainly our interest to maintain the rivalry between the families of Austria and of Bourbon; and for that purpose to affift the former on every occasion against the latter, as far as the common cause of Europe, not her private ambition, requires; and as far as our national circumstances may enable us to measure out our assistance in any conjuncture to her.

THESE

These are the measures and proportions, according to which alone political focieties ought to unite in alliances, and to affift one another. There is a political, as well as a natural, felflove; and the former ought to be, to every member of a commonwealth, the fame determining principle of action, where public interest is concerned, that the latter will be to him most certainly wherever his private interest is concerned. I have heard it often laid of one man, that he was a friend or an enemy to the house of Austria; and of another, that he was a friend or an enemy to the house of Bourbon. But these expressions proceed generally from passion and Dd2 pre-

prepoffession; as the sentiments they impute must proceed, whenever they are real, from these causes, or from one which is still worse, from corruption. A wise prince, and a wife people, bear no regard to other states, except that which arises from the coincidence or repugnancy of their several interests; and this regard must therefore vary, as these interests will do, in the perpetual fluctuation of human affairs. Thus queen ELIZABETH and her people opposed the house of Austria, and supported the house of Bourbon, in the fixteenth century. Thus queen Anne and her people opposed the house of Bourbon, and supported the house of Austria, in the eighteenth. The first,

of the Nation. 421 first, indeed, was done with wifer counsel; the last with greater force of arms. By the first, our country was enriched; by the last, it was impoverished——

N. B. These considerations were written thus far in the year seventeen hundred and forty nine, but were never sinished.

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## LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

# Alexander Pope, Efq.

By the late Right Honorable

HENRY ST. JOHN,

LORD VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE.

# LETTIER

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# Alexander Pope, Eig.

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HENRY ST. John

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## LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

## ALEXANDER POPE, Efq.

DEAR SIR,

CINCE you have begun, at my request, the work which I have wished long that you would undertake, it is but reafonable that I fubmit to the task you impose upon me. The mere compliance with any thing you desire, is a pleasure to me. On the present occasion, however, this compliance is a little interefted; and that I may not affume more merit with you, than I really have, I will own that in per-

forming

forming this act of friendship, for such you are willing to esteem it, the purity of my motive is corrupted by some regard to my private utility. In short, I suspect you to be guilty of a very friendly fraud, and to mean my service whilst you seem to mean your own.

In leading me to discourse, as you have done often, and in pressing me to write, as you do now, on certain subjects, you may propose to draw me back to those trains of thought, which are, above all others, worthy to employ the human mind: and I thank you for it. They have been often interrupted by the business and dissipations of the world,

world, but they were never so more grievously to me, nor less usefully to the public, than since royal seduction prevailed on me to abandon the quiet and leisure of the retreat I had chosen abroad, and to neglect the example of RUTILIUS, for I might have imitated him in this at least, who sled surther from his country when he was invited home.

You have begun your ethic epiftles in a mafterly manner. You
have copied no other writer, nor
will you, I think, be copied by
any one. It is with genius as it
is with beauty; there are a thoufand pretty things that charm alike; but superior genius, like
superior beauty, has always something

thing particular, fomething that belongs to itself alone. It is always distinguishable, not only from those who have no claim to excellence, but even from those who excel, when any such there are.

I AM pleased, you may be sure, to find your satire turn, in the very beginning of these epistles, against the principal cause, for such you know that I think it, of all the errors, all the contradictions, and all the disputes which have arisen among those, who impose themselves on their fellow creatures for great masters, and almost sole proprietors of a gift of God which is common to the whole species. This gift is reason; son;

fon; a faculty, or rather an aggregate of faculties, that is bestowed in different degrees; and not in the highest, certainly, on those who make the highest pretensions to it. Let your fatire chastife, and, if it be possible, humble that pride, which is the fruitful parent of their vain curiofity and bold prefumption; which renders them dogmatical in the midst of ignorance, and often sceptical in the midst of knowledge. The man, who is puffed up with this philosophical pride, whether divine, or theift, or atheift, deserves no more to be respected, than one of those trifling creatures, who are conscious of little else than their animality, and who stop as far short of the attainable

perfections of their nature, as the other attempts to go beyond them. You will discover as many filly affections, as much foppery and futility, as much inconfistency and low artifice in one, as in the other. I never met the madwoman at Brentford, decked out in old and new rags, and nice and fantastical in the manner of wearing them, without reflecting on many of the profound scholars, and sublime philosophers of our own, and of former ages.

You may expect fome contradiction, and some obloquy on the part of these men, the you will have less to apprehend from their malice and resentment, than a writer in prose on the same subjects

fubjects would have. You will be fafer in the generalities of poetry: and I know your precaution enough to know that you will screen yourself in them against any direct charge of heterodoxy. But the great clamor of all will be raifed when you defcend lower, and let your Muse loofe among the herd of mankind. Then will those powers of dulk ness, whom you have ridiculed into immortality, be called forth in one united phalanx against you. But why do I talk of what may happen? You have experienced lately fomething more than I-prognofticate. Fools and knaves should be modest at least, they should alk quarter of men of sense and virtue: and so they do horh. till

till they grow up to a majority; till a fimilitude of character affures them of the protection of the great. But then vice and folly, fuch as prevail in our country, corrupt our manners, deform even focial life, and contribute to make us ridiculous as well as miserable, will claim respect for the fake of the vicious and the foolish. It will be then no longer fufficient to spare persons; for to draw even characters of imagination must become criminal when the application of them to those of highest rank, and greatest power cannot fail to be made. You began to laugh at the ridiculous tafte, or the no tafte in gardening and building, of some men who are at great expence in both.

both. What a clamor was raised instantly? The name of Timon, was applied to a noble person with double malice, to make him ridiculous, and you, who lived in friendship with him, odious. By the authority that employed itself to encourage this clamor, and by the industry used to spread and support it, one would have thought, that you had directed your fatire in that epiftle to political fubjects, and had inveighed against those who impoverish, dishonor, and fell their country, instead of making yourfelf inoffenfively merry at the expence of men who ruin none but themselves, and render none but themselves ridiculous. What will the clamor be, and how will the fame au-Ee thority nondi

thority foment it, when you proceed to lash, in other instances, our want of elegance even in luxury, and our wild profusion, the fource of infatiable rapacity, and almost universal venality? My mind forebodes that the time will come, and who knows how near it may bed when other powers, than those of Grubstreet, may be drawn forth against you, and when vice and folly may be avowedly sheltered behind a power instituted for better, and contrary purpoles; for the punishment of one, and for the reformation of both.

But, however this may be, purfue your task undauntedly, and, whilft fo many others convert the noblest employments of human

human fociety into fordid trades, let the generous Muse resume her antient dignity, re-affert her antient prerogative, and instruct and reform, as well as amuse the worldid Let her give a new turn to the thoughts of men, raife new affections in their minds, and determine in another and better manner the passions of their hearts. Poets, they fax, were the first philosophers and divines, in every country; and in ours, perhaps, the first institutions of religion, and civil policy, were own ing to our bards. Their talk might be hard, their merit was certainly great. But if they were to rife now from the dead, they would find the second task, if I miftake not, much harder than the Ee 2

the first, and confess it more easy to deal with ignorance than with error. When focieties are once established, and governments formed, men flatter themselves that they proceed in cultivating the first rudiments of civility, policy, religion, and learning. But they do not observe that the private interests of many, the prejudices, affections, and passions of all, have a large share in the work, and often the largest. These put a fort of bias on the mind, which makes it decline from the straight course; and the further these sup posed improvements are carried, the greater this declination grows, till men lose fight of primitive and real nature, and have no other guide but custom, a second and orl

and a false nature. The author of one is divine wisdom; of the other, human imagination: and yet whenever the fecond flands in opposition to the first, as it does most frequently, the fecond prevails. From hence it happens. that the most civilifed nations are, often guilty of injustice and cruelty, which the least civilised would abhor; and that many of the most absurd opinions and doctrines, which have been imposed in the dark ages of ignorance, continue to be the opinions, and doctrines of ages enlightened by philosophy and learning. If I was a philosopher, fays Montaigne, I would naturalife art, instead of artilising nature. The expression is odd, but Ee 3 the

the fense is good; and what he recommends would be done, if the reasons that have been given did not stand in the way; if the felf-interest of some men, the madness of others, and the universal pride of the human heart, did not determine them to prefer error to truth, and authority to reason.

to condite hims

WHILST your Muse is employed to lash the vicious into repentance, or to laugh the fools of the age into shame, and whilst she rifes fometimes to the noblest subjects of philosophical meditation, I shall throw upon paper, for your fatisfaction, and for my own, fome part at least of what I have thought and faid formerly on the laft

last of these subjects, as well as the reflections that they may fuggest to me further in writing on them. The strange situation I am in, and the melancholly state of public affairs take up much of my time, divide or even diffipate my thoughts, and, which is worse, drag the mind down, by perpetual interruptions, from a philosophical tone or temper, to the drudgery of private and public business. The last lies nearest my heart; and, fince I am once more engaged in the fervice of my country; disarmed, gagged, and almost bound as I am, I will not abandon it as long as the integrity, and perseverance of those who are under none of these disadvantages, and with whom, I Ee4

now co-operate, make it reasonable for me to act the same part. Further than this no shadow of duty obliges me to go. Plato ceased to act for the commonwealth when he ceased to persuade; and Solon laid down his arms before the public magazine when Pisistratus grew too strong to be opposed any longer with hopes of success.

Tho my fituation, and my engagements are fufficiently known to you, I chuse to mention them on this occasion, lest you should expect from me any thing more than I find myself able to perform whilst I am in them. It has been said by many, that they wanted time to make their difcourses

courses shorter: and if this be a good excuse, as I think it may be often, I lay in my claim to it. You must neither expect, in what I am about to write to you, that brevity which might be expected in letters, or essays; nor that exactness of method, nor that fulness of the several parts, which they affect to observe, who prefume to write philosophical treatifes. The merit of brevity is relative to the manner and style, in which any fubject is treated, as well as to the nature of it: for the fame fubject may be fometimes treated very differently, and yet very properly, in both these respects. Should the poet make fyllogisms in verse, or pursue a long process of reasoning in the didac-

didactic style, he would be fure to tire his reader on the whole. like LUCRETIUS, tho he reasoned better than the roman, and put into some parts of his work the fame poetical fire. He may write, as you have begun to do, on philosophical subjects; but he must write in his own character. He must contract, he may shadow, he has a right to omit whatever will not be cast in the poetic mold: and when he cannot instruct, he may hope to please. But the philosopher has no fuch privileges. He may contract fometimes, he must never shadow. He must be limited by his matter, left he should grow whimfical; and by the parts of it which he understands best, lest

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he should grow obscure. But these parts he must develope fully; and he has no right to omit any thing that may ferve the purpose of truth, whether it please or not. As it would be difingenuous to facrifice truth to popularity, so it is trifling to appeal to the reason and experience of mankind, as every philosophical writer does, or must be understood to do, and then to talk, like PLA-To, and his antient and modern disciples, to the imagination only. There is no need however to banish eloquence out of philosophy; and truth and reason are no enemies to the purity, nor to the ornaments of language. But as the want of an exact determination of ideas, and of an exact precision

## 444 ALETTER

precision in the use of words, is inexcusable in a philosopher, he must preserve them, even at the expence of style. In short, it seems to me, that the business of the philosopher is to dilate, if I may borrow this word from Tul-Ly, to press, to prove, to convince; and that of the poet to hint, to touch his subject with short and spirited strokes, to warm the affections, and to speak to the heart.

Tho I seem to prepare an apology for prolixity even in writing essays, I will endeavour not to be tedious; and this endeavour may succeed the better, perhaps, by declining any over strict observation of method. There are certain

tain points of that which I efteem the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, where, of I shall never lose fight: but this will be very consistent with a fort of epistolary license. To digrefs, and to ramble are different things; and he who knows the country, through which he travels, may venture out of the high road because he is sure of finding his way back to it again. Thus the feveral matters that may arise, even accidentally, before me, will have some share in not pretend to ineq ym gnibing and Lammot burnble enough to

I DARE not promife that the fections, or members of these essays will bear that nice proportion to one another, and to the whole, which a severe critic would require.

quire. All I dare promise you is, that my thoughts, in what order foever they flow, finall be communicated to you just las they pals through my mind, just as they use to be when we converse together on thele, or any other fubjects; when we faunteralone, or, as we have often done, with good Arbuthnot, and the jocofe dean of St. Patrick's, among the multiplied scenes of your little garden. That theatre is large enough for my ambition. I dare not pretend to instruct mankind, and I am not humble enough to write to the public for any other purpose. I mean, by writing on fuch subjects as I intend here, to make some trial of my progress in fearch of the most important truths,

fore a friend, in whom, I think, I may confide. These epistolary essays, therefore, will be writt with as little reserve, as I used to shew in the conversations which have given occasion to them, when I maintained the same opinions, and insisted on the same reasons in defence of them.

in general only, of prejudice, and

man not well acquainted with the world, and in particular with the philosophical and theological tribe, that so much precaution should be necessary in the communication of our thoughts on any subject of the first philosophy, which is of common con-

cern

cern to the whole race of mankind, and wherein no one can have, according to nature and truth, any separate interest. Yet fo it is. The separate interests we cannot have by God's institutions, are created by those of man; and there is no fubject, on which men deal more unfairly with one another, than this. There are feparate interests, to mention them in general only, of prejudice, and of profession. By the first, men fet out in the fearch of truth under the conduct of error, and work up their heated imaginations often to fuch a delirium, that the more genius, and the more learning they have, the madder they grow. By the fecond, they are fworn, as it were,

to follow all their lives the authority of fome particular school, to which " tanquam scopulo, ad-" haerefcunt ";" for the condition of their engagement is to defend certain doctrines, and even mere forms of fpeech, without examination, or to examine only in order to defend them. By both, they become philosophers as men became christians in the primitive church, or as they determined themselves about difputed doctrines; for fays HILA-RIUS, writing to St. AUSTIN, "Your holiness knows, that the " greatest part of the faithful " embrace, or refuse to embrace " a doctrine, for no reason but

\* TULLY.

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"the impression which the name "and authority of some body or "other makes on them." What now can a man who seeks truth, for the sake of truth, and is indifferent where he finds it, expect from any communication of his thoughts to such men as these? He will be much deceived, if he expects any thing better than imposition, or altercation.

Few men have, I believe, confulted others, both the living and the dead, with less presumption, and in a greater spirit of docility, than I have done: and the more I have consulted, the less have I found of that inward conviction, on which a mind, that is not absolutely implicit, can rest. I thought,

thought; for a time, that this must be my fault. I distrusted myself, not my teachers, men of the greatest name, antient and modern. But I found at last, that it was fafer to trust myfelf than them, and to proceed by the light of my own understanding, than to wander after these ignes fatui of philosophy. If I am able therefore to tell you eafily, and at the same time fo clearly and distinctly as to be easily understood, and so strongly as not to be easily refuted, how I have thought for myself, I shall be perfuaded that I have thought enough on these subjects. If I am not able to do this, it will be evident that I have not thought on them enough. I must review

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my opinions, discover and correct my errors.

I HAVE faid, that the subjects I mean, and which will be the principal objects of these Essays, are those of the first philosophy; and it is fit, therefore, that I should explain what I understand by the first philosophy. Do not imagine that I understand what has pasfed commonly under that name, metaphyfical pneumatics, for instance, or ontology. The first are conversant about imaginary substances, fuch as may, and may not exist. That there is a God we can demonstrate; and altho we know nothing of his manner of being, yet we acknowledge him to be immaterial, because a thousand

thousand absurdities, and such as imply the strongest contradiction, refult from the supposition that the Supreme Being is a system of matter. But of any other spirits we neither have, nor can have any knowledge: and no man will be inquisitive about spiritual physiognomy, nor go about to enquire. I believe, at this time, as Evolutus enquired of St. Aug stin, whether our immaterial part, the foul, does not remain united, when it forfakes this gross terrestrial body, to some aethereal body, more fubtil, and more fine; which was one of the pythagorean, and platonic whimfies: nor be under any concern to know, if this be not the case of the dead, how fouls can be diffinguished Ff3

gnished after their separation, that of Dives, for example, from that of LAZARUS. The fecond, that is ontology, treats most scientifically of being abstracted from all being, "de ente quate-"nus ens." It came in fashion whilft ARISTOTLE was in fashion, and has been foun into an immense web out of scholastic brains. But it should be, and I think it is already, left to the acute diffciples of LEIBNITZ, who dug for gold in the ordure of the fohools, and to other german wits. Det them darken by tedious definitions, what is too plain to need any; or let them employ their vocabulary of barbarous terms to propagate an unintelligible jargon, which is supposed to express fuch

fuch abstractions as they cannot make, and according to which, however, they presume often to control the particular and most evident truths of experimental knowledge. Such reputed science deserves no rank in philosophy, not the last, and much less the first.

I DESIRE you not to imagine neither, that I understand by the first philosophy, even such a science as my \* lord Bacon describes, a science of general observations, and axioms, such as do not belong properly to any particular part of science, but are common to many, "and of any higher stage," as he expresses himself. He complains, that phi-

Houd • Advant of learn: Library losophers

losophers have not gone up to the "fpring-head," which would be of "general, and excellent use " for the disclosing of nature, and " the abridgementof art;" tho they "draw now and then a " bucket of water out of the well " for fome particular use." I refpect, no man more, this great authority; but I respect no authority enough to subscribe, on the faith of it, to that which appears to me fantastical, as if it were real. Now this fpring-head of science is purely fantastical, and the figure conveys a false notion to the mind, as figures, employed licentiously, are apt to do. The great author himself calls these axioms, which are to constitute his first philosophy, observations. Such they

they are properly; for there are some uniform principles, or uniform impressions of the same nature, to be observed in very different subjects, "una eademque natu-" rae vestigia aut signacula diver-" sis materiis et subjectis impres-" fa." These observations, therefore, when they are fufficiently verified and well established, may be properly applied in discourse, or writing, from one subject to another. But I apprehend that when they are fo applied, they serve rather to illustrate a propofition, than to disclose nature, or to abridge art. They may have a better foundation, than similitudes and comparisons more loosely and more superficially made. They may compare realities

ties, not appearances; things that nature has made alike, not things that feem only to have some relation of this kind in our imaginations. But still they are comparisons of things distinct, and independent. They do not lead us to things; but things that are lead us to make them. He who possesses two sciences, and the fame will be often true of arts, may find in certain respects a similitude between them, because he possesses both. If he did not possess both, he would be led by neither to the acquisition of the other. Such observations are effects, not means of knowledge; and therefore to suppose that any collection of them can constitute a science of an "higher stage," from

from whence we may reason à priori down to particulars, is, I prefume, to suppose something very groundless, and very useless at best to the advancement of knowledge in Appretended fcience of this kind most be barren of knowledge, and may be fruitful of error; as the perfian magic was, if it proceeded on the faint analogy that may be discovered between physics, and politics, and deduced the rules of civil government from what the professor of it obferved of the operations, and works of nature in the material world. The very specimen of their man gic, which my lord Bacon has given, would be fufficient to juil stify what is here objected to his doctrine. eium insequalia. LeT Talk:

LET us conclude this head by mentioning two examples among others, which he brings to explain the better what he means by his first philosophy. The first is this axiom \*, " If to unequals you " add equals, all will be unequal." This, he fays, is an axiom of juflice, as well as of mathematics; and he asks, whether there is not a true coincidence between commutative and distributive justice, and arithmetical and geometrical proportion & But I would alk in my turn, whether the certainty that any arithmetician, or geometrician has of the arithmetical, or geometrical truth, will lead him to discover this coincidence?

Si inacqualibus addas acqualia, omnis erunt inaequalia. I alk

I ask, whether the most profound lawyer, who never heard perhaps this axiom, would be led to it by his notions of commutative, and distributive justice? Certainly not. He who is well skilled in arithmetic, or geometry, and in jurisprudence, may observe, perhaps, this uniformity of natural principle or impression, because he is so skilled; tho, to fay the truth, it be not very obvious: but he will not have derived his knowledge of it from any spring-head of a first philofophy, from any science of an " higher stage" than arithmetic, geometry, and jurisprudence.

THE second example is this axiom,

axiom\*, "that the destruction " of things is prevented by the " reduction of them to their first " principles." This rule is faid to hold in religion, in physics, and in politics; and MACHIAVEL is quoted for having established it in the last of these. Now, tho this axiom be generally, it is not universally true; and, to say nothing of physics, it will not be hard to produce, in contradiction to it, examples of religious, and civil institutions, that would have perished if they had been kept strictly to their first principles, and that have been supported by departing more or less from them. It may feem justly matter of

wonder,

<sup>\*</sup> Interitus rei arcetur per reductionem ejus ad principia.

wonder, that the author of the Advancement of learning should espouse this maxim in religion, and politics, as well as physics, so absolutely, and that he should place it as an axiom of his first philosophy relatively to the three, fince he could not do it without falling into the abuse he condemns fo much in his Organum novum +; the abuse philosophers are guilty of when they fuffer the mind to rise too fast, as it is apt to do, from particulars to remote, and general axioms. That the author of the Political discourfes should fall into this abuse,

<sup>† —</sup>ut intellectus a particularibus ad axiomata remota, et quasi generalissima,—faliat, et volet.

is not at all strange. The same abuse runs through all his writings, in which, among many wife, and many wicked reflections, and precepts, he establishes frequently general maxims, or rules of conduct, on a few particular examples, and fometimes on a fingle example. Upon the whole matter, one of these axioms communicates no knowledge but that which we must have before we can know the axiom, and the other may betray us into great error when we apply it to use, and action. One is unprofitable, the other dangerous; and the philofophy, which admits them as principles of general knowledge, deserves ill to be reputed philosophy. It would have been just as useful,

ufeful, and much more fafe, to admit into this receptacle of axioms, those felf-evident, and neceffary truths alone, of which we have an immediate perception, fince they are not confined to any special parts of science, but are common to feveral, or to all: Thus these profitable axioms, What is, is; The whole is bigger than a part; and divers others, might ferve to enlarge the fpringhead of a first philosophy, and be of excellent use in arguing ex praecognitis et praeconcessis. of discour kinds. In the fir

Ir you ask me now, what I understand then by a first philofophy? my answer will be such as I suppose you already prepared to receive. I understand by a first while.

first philosophy, that which deferves the first place on account of the dignity, and importance of it's objects, natural theology or theifm, and natural religion or ethics. If we confider the order of the fciences in their vife. and progress, the first place belongs to natural philosophy, the mother of them all, or the trunk the tree of knowledge, out of which, and in proportion to which, like for many branches, they all grow. These branches spread wide, and bear even fruits of different kinds. But the fap that made them shoot, and makes them florish, rises from the root through the trunk, and their productions are varied according to the variety of strainers through Pro which

which it flows. In plain terms, I speak not here of supernatural, or revealed science; and therefore, I say, that all science, if it be real, must rife from below, and from our own level. It cannot descend from above, nor from superior systems of being and knowledge. Truth of existence is truth of knowledge, and therefore reason searches after them in one of these scenes, where both are to be found together, and are within our reach; whilf imagination hopes fondly to find them in another, where both of them are to be found, but furely not by us. The notices we receive from without concerning the beings that furround us, and the inward consciousness we have of

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our own, are the foundations, and the true criterions too, of all the knowledge we acquire of body and of mind: and body and mind are objects alike of natural philosophy. We affume commonly that they are two distinct substances. Be it so. They are still united, and blended, as it were, together, in one human nature: and all natures, united or not, fall within the province of natural philosophy. On the hypothesis indeed that body and foul are two distinct substances, one of which fubfifts after the diffolution of the other, certain men, who have taken the whimfical title of metaphysicians, as if they had science beyond the bounds of nature, or of nature discoverable by others, have

have taken likewife to themselves the doctrine of mind; and have left that of body, under the name of physics, to a supposed inferior order of philosophers. But the right of these stands good; for all the knowledge that can be acquired about mind, or the unextended substance of the Cartesians, must be acquired, like that about body, or the extended fubstance, within the bounds of their province, and by the means they employ, particular experiments and observations. Nothing can be true of mind, any more than of body, that is repugnant to these; and an intellectual hypothesis, which is not supported by the intellectual phaenomena, is at least as ridiculous, as a corporeal Gg3

poreal hypothesis which is not supported by the corporeal phaenomena.

Exposition of

IF I have faid thus much in this place concerning natural philosophy, it has not been without good reason. I consider theology, and ethics as the first of sciences in pre-eminence of rank. But I consider the constant contemplation of nature, by which I mean the whole fystem of God's works, as far as it lies open to us, as the common spring of all sciences, and even of these. What has been faid, agreeably to this notion, feems to me evidently true; and yet metaphyfical divines and philosophers proceed in direct contradiction to it, and have thereby,

by, if I mistake not, bewildered themselves, and a great part of mankind, in fuch inextricable labyrinths of hypothetical reasoning, that few men can find their way back, and none can find it forward into the road of truth. To dwell long, and on fome points always, in particular knowledge, tires the patience of these impetuous philosophers. They fly to generals. To confider, attentively, even the minutest phaenomena of body and mind mortifies their pride. Rather than creep up flowly, à posteriori, to a little general knowledge, they foar at once as far, and as high, as imagination can carry them. From thence they descend again, armed with fystems and argu-Gg4 ments

ments à priori; and, regardless how these agree, or clash with the phaenomena of nature, they impose them on mankind.

IT is this manner of philofophising, this preposterous method of beginning our fearch after truth out of the bounds of human knowledge, or of continuing it beyond them, that has corrupted natural theology, and natural religion in all ages. They have been corrupted to fuch a degree, that it is grown, and was fo long fince, as necessary to plead the cause of God, if I may use this expression after Seneca, against the divine, as against the atheift; to affert his existence against the latter, to defend his attriattributes against the former, and to justify his providence against both. To both, a sincere and humble theist might say very properly, "I make no difference "between you on many occasions; because it is indifferent "whether you deny, or defame the Supreme Being: nay, Plutarch, tho little orthodox in theology, was not in the wrong, perhaps, when he declared the last to be the worst.

In treating the subjects about which I shall write to you in these letters, or essays, it will be therefore necessary to distinguish

genuine

<sup>\*</sup> Utrum Deum neges an infames.

genuine and pure theifm, from the unnatural, and profane mixtures of human imagination; what we can know of God, from what we cannot know. This is the more necessary too, because, whilst true and false notions about God and religion are blended together in our minds, under one specious name of science, the false are more likely to make men doubt of the true, as it often happens, than to persuade men that they are true themfelves. Now in order to this purpole, nothing can be more effectual than to go to the root of error, of that primitive error which encourages our curiofity, fustains our pride, fortifies our preju-

prejudices, and gives pretence to delution. This primitive error confifts in the high opinion we are apt to entertain of the human mind, tho it holds, in truth, a very low rank in the intellectual lystem. To cure this error, we need only turn our eyes inward, and contemplate impartially what passes there from the infancy to the maturity of the mind. Thus it will not be difficult, and thus alone it is possible, to discover the true nature of human knowledge, how far it extends, how far it is real; and where, and how it begins to be fantastical.

Such an enquiry, if it cannot check the prefumption, nor humble

ble the pride of metaphysicians, may ferve to undeceive others, LOCKE purfued it. He grounded all he taught on the phaenomena of nature. He appealed to the experience and conscious knowledge of every one, and rendered all he advanced intelligible. LEIBNITZ, one of the vainest, and most chimerical men that ever got a name in philosophy, and who is often fo unintelligible, that no man ought to believe he understood himself, censured Locke as a superficial philosopher. What has happened? The philosophy of one has forced it's way into general approbation: that of the other has carried no conviction, and scarce any

any information to those who have mispent their time about it. To speak the truth, the it may feem a paradox, our knowledge on many subjects, and particularly on those which we intend here, must be superficial to be real. This is the condition of humanity. We are placed, as it were, in an intellectual twilight, where we discover but few things clearly, and none entirely, and yet fee just enough to tempt us with the hope of making better and more discoveries. Thus flattered, men push their enquiries on, and may be properly enough compared to Ixion, who "ima-" gined he had Juno in his arms " whilft

"whilf he embraced a cloud "."

have milisent their and about of

To be contented to know things as God has made us capable of knowing them, is then a first principle necessary to secure us from falling into error; and if there is any subject upon which we should be most on our guard against error, at is furely that which I have called here the first philosophy. I God is hid from us in the majesty of his nature, and the little we discover of him, must be discovered by the light that is reflected from his works. VOut of this light, therefore, we should never go in our

the sid of one I bad od benig a Lord Bacon,

enqui-

enquiries and reasonings about his nature, his attributes, and the order of his providence: and yet upon these subjects, men depart the furthest from it; nay, they who depart the furthest are the best heard by the bulk of mankind. The less men know. the more they believe that they know. Belief passes in their minds for knowledge: and the very circumstances, which should beget doubt, produce increase of faith. Every glittering apparition, that is pointed out to them in the vast wild of imagination, passes for a reality: and the more distant, the more confused, the more incomprehenfible it is, the more fublime it is effeemed.

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He who should attempt to shift these scenes of airy vision, for those of real knowledge, might expect to be treated with fcom and anger, by the whole theological and metaphyfical tribe, the masters and the scholars. He would be despised as a plebeian philosopher, and railed at as an It would be founded infidel. high, that he debased human nature, which has a cognation, fo the reverend and learned doctor CUDWORTH calls it, with the divine; that the foul of man, immaterial and immortal by it's nature, was made to contemplate higher and nobler objects, than this fenfible world, and even than itself, fince it was made to

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contemplate God; and to be united to him. In fuch clamor as this, the voice of truth and of reafor would be drowned; and, with both of them on his fide, he who apposed it it would make many enemies, and few converts. Nay, I am aptito think that fome of these, if he made any, would say to him, as foom as the gaudy visions of error were difpelled, and till they were accufformed to the simplicity of withmest Polagment occidiftis." Prudence forbids men therefore, to write as I think to the world, whilst friendship forbids me to write otherwife to you. I have been a martyr of faction in polities, and have no vocation to be forin philosophy. Bur SOME

Bur there is another confideration which deferves more regard, because it is of a public nature, and because the common interests of fociety may be affected by it. Truth and falfhood, knowledge and ignorance, revelations of the Creator, inventions of the creature, dictates of reason, sallies of enthufiasm, have been blended so long together in our systems of theology, that it may be thought dangerous to separate them; left by attacking forne parts of thefe Aftems we should shake the whole. old may be thought that error, itself, deserves tooberrespected on this account, and that men, who are deluded for their good, should be delinded on ad BUT dH SOME

Some fuch reflections as thefe it is probable that ERASMUS made when he observed, in one of his letters to MELANCTHON, that Plato, dreaming of a philosophical commonwealth, saw the impossibility of governing the multitude without deceiving them "Let not christians lye," fays this great divine ! " bot " let it not be thought neither, "that every truth ought to be "thrown out to the vulgar. "Non expedit omnem veri-" tatem prodere vulgo. " SeARL vola and Varno were more explicit than Erasmus, and more reasonable than PLATO. They held not only that many truths were to be, concealed from the vulgar, but that it was expe-Hh 2 eodient

dient the vulgar should believe many things; that were false. They distinguished at the same time very rightly, between the regard due to religions already established, and the conduct to be held in the establishment of them. The Greek affumed, that men could not be governed by truth, and crecked on this principle a fabulous theology. The Romans were not of the same opinion. VARRO declared expressly, that if he had been to frame a new institution, he would have framed it " ex na-" turae potius formula." But they both thought that things evidently false might deserve an outward respect, when they are interwoven into a system of dient Hh 2 gogovernment. This outward respect every good cirizen will
show them in such a case, and
they can claim no more in any.
He will not propagate these errors, but he will be cautious
how he propagates even truth,
in opposition to them.

THERE has been much noise made about free thinking; and men have been animated, in the contest, by a spirit that be comes neither the character of divines, nor that of good citizens; by an arbitrary tyranguizens; by an arbitrary tyranguizens; by an arbitrary tyranguizens pirit under the malk of religious zeal, and by a prefumptuous, factious spirit under that of liberty. If the fift could prevail, they would establish in the plicit

plicit belief and blind obedience, and an inquisition to maintain this abject servitude. To affert antipodes might become once more as heretical as arianism, or pelagianism: and men might be dragged to the jails of some holy office, like GALILEI, for faying they had feen what in fact they had feen, and what every one else that pleased might see. If the second could prevail, they would destroy at once the general influence of religion, by shaking the foundations of it which education had laid. These are wide extremes. Is there no middle path, in which a reasonable man and a good citizen may direct his steps ?... I prevall, they would is another thinks

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EVERY

Every one has an undoubted right to think freely: nay, it is the duty of every one to do fo, as far as he has the necessary means, and opportunities. This duty too is in no case so incumbent on him, as in those that regardawhat Incall the first philesophyade They who have heis ther means increpportunities of this fort, must fubmit their of pinions to authority and to what authority can they refign themselves so properly, and so fafely, as to that of the laws, and constitution of their country? In general nothing can be more abfurd than to take opinions of the greatest moment, and fuch as concern us the most intimately, on trust. But there Hh 4 Bur

is no help against it in many particular cales Things the most absurd in speculation become necessary in practice. Such is the human constitution, and reason excuses them on the account of this neteffity. Realon does even a little more; and it is all the can do. T She gives the best direction possible to the abfurdity. Thus he, directs those, who must believe because they cannot know, to believe in the laws of their country, and conform their opinions and practice to those of their ancestors, to those of Corunca-NIUS, of SCIPIO, of SCHEVOLA, not to those of Zeno, of CLEAN-THES, of CHRYSIPPUS . 40 HOLES

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Bur now the fame reason, that gives this direction to fuch men as thefe, will give a very contrary direction to those who have the means, and opportunities the others want. Far from advising them to submit to this mental bondage, the will advife them to employ their whole industry, to exert the utmost freedom of thought, and to reft on no authority but her's, that is, their own. She will fpeak to them in the language of the Soulys, a fect of philosophers in Persia, that travellers have mentioned, " Doubt," fay thele wife and honest freethinkers, " is the key of knowfedge. He who never doubts, " never examines. He who ne-" ver

" ver examines, discovers no"thing, He who discovers no"thing, is blind, and will re"main so. If you find no rea"fon to doubt concerning the
"opinions of your fathers, keep
"to them, they will be suffi"cient for you. If you find
"any reason to doubt concerning them, seek the truth
"quietly, but take care not to
"disturb the minds of other
"men."

Let us proceed agreeably to these maxims. Let us seek truth, but seek it quietly as well as freely. Let us not imagine, like some who are called freethinkers, that every man, who can think and judge for himfelf,

felf, as he has a right to do, has therefore a right of speaking, any more than of acting according to the full freedom of his thoughts. The freedom belongs to him as a rational creature: He lies under the restraint as a member of society.

Ir the religion we profess contained nothing more than articles of faith, and points of doctrine clearly revealed to us in the gospel, we might be obliged to renounce our natural freedom of thought in favor of this supernatural authority. But since it is notorious that a certain order of men, who call themselves the church, have been employed to make and propagate a the-

a theological fystem of their own, which they call christianity, from the days of the apostles, and even from these days inclusively; it is our duty to examine, and analyse the whole, that we may distinguish what is divine from what is human; adhere to the first implicitly, and ascribe to the last no more authority than the word of man deserves.

Such an examination is the more necessary to be undertaken by every one who is concerned for the truth of his religion, and for the honor of christianity, because the first preachers of it were not, and they who preach it still are not, agreed about many of the

tione clearly revealed to us in

the most important points of their system; because the controversies raised by these men have banished union, peace, and charity out of the christian world; and because some parts of the fystem favour so much of fuperstition, and enthusiasm, that all the prejudices of education, and the whole weight of civil and ecclefiaftigal power can hardly akeep athemoin crodit. Thefe confiderations desgree the more attention, because nothing can be more true, than what PLUTAREH faid of old, and my lord Bacon has faid fince; one, that superstition, and the other, that vain controversies are principal causes of atheism to

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the player of the world.

I NEITHER expect nor defire to fee any public revision made of the present system of christianity. I should fear an attempt to alter the established religion as much, as they who have the most bigot attachment to it, and for reasons as good as theirs, tho not entirely the same. I speak only of the duty of every private man to examine for himfelf, which would have an immediate good effect relatively to himself, and might have in time a good effect relatively to the public, fince it would dispose the minds of men to a greater indifference about theological disputes, which are the disgrace of christianity, and have been the plagues of the world.

WILL

shu Wittiyou tell me that private judgment must submit to the established authority of fathers and councils ? My anfwer shall be, that the fathers, antient and modern in councilsp and out of them, have miled that immense system of artificial theology, by which genuine christianity is perverted, and in which it is loft of Thefe fathers are fathers of the worst fort fuch as contrive to keep their children in a perpetual flate of infancy, that they may exercise perpetual, and absolute dominion over them Ist Quo magiswregnum in illos exerto ceant pro futa libidine " hil call their theology artificial, beage of her sewes and to me floor cause

cause it is in a multitude of infrances conformable neither to the religion of nature, nor to gospel christianity, but often repugnant to both tho faid to be founded on them. I shall have occasion to mention feveral fuch inflances in the course of these little essays. Here Lewill only observed that if it be hard to conceive how any thing so absurd on the pagan theology flands represented by the fathers who wrote against it, and as it really was, could ever gain gredit among rational creatures vit is full as hard to conceive how the artificial theology we fpeak of could ever prevail, not only in ages of ignorance, but in the most 1014 -

most enlightened. There is a letter of St. Austin, wherein he fays \*, that he was ashamed of himself when he refuted the opinions of the former, and that he was ashamed of mankind when he confidered that fuch absurdities were received. and defended. The reflections might be retorted on the faint, fince he broached, and defended doctrines as unworthy of the fupreme all-perfect Being, as those which the heathers taught concerning their fictitions, and inferior gods. Is it necessary to quote any other than that, by which we are taught that God

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<sup>\*</sup> \_\_\_\_jam pudet me ista refellere cum eos non puduerit ista sentire. Cum vero ausi sint etiam desendere, &c.

has created numbers of men for no purpose, but to damn them? " Quisquis praedestina-" tionis doctrinam invidia gra-" vat," fays CALVIN, " aperte " maledicit Deo+." Let us fay, " Quisquis praedestinationis do-" ctrinam afferit, blasphemat." Let us not impute fuch cruel injustice to the all-perfect Being. Let Austin, and Calvin, and all those who teach it, be answerable for it alone. You may bring fathers and councils as evidences in the cause of artificial theology: but reason must be the judge; and all I contend for is, that the should be so in the breast of every christian that can appeal to her tribunal.

+ Car. Inf. Lib. iii. c. 21.

WILL

WILL you tell me that even fuch a private examination of the christian system, as I propose that every man, who is able to make it, should make for himself, is unlawful; and that, if any doubts arise in our minds concerning religion, we must have recourse for the solution of them to some of that holy order, which was instituted by God himfelf, and which has been continued by the imposition of hands in every christian fociety, from the apostles down to the present clergy? My anfwer shall be shortly this, it is repugnant to all the ideas of wisdom and goodness to believe that the universal terms of falvation are knowable by Ii 2 the

the means of one order of men alone, and that they continue to be fo even after they have been published to all nations. Some of your directors will tell you, that whilft CHRIST was on earth, the apostles were the church; that he was the bishop of it; that afterwards the admission of men into this order was approved, and confirmed by visions and other divine manifestations; and that these wonderful proofs of God's interposition at the ordinations, and confecrations of presbyters, and bishops, lasted even in the time of St. CYPRIAN, that is, in the middle of the third century. It is pity that they lasted no longer, for the ho-

nor

nor of the church, and for the conviction of those who do not fufficiently reverence the religious fociety. It were to be wished perhaps, that some of the fecrets of electricity were improved enough to be piously, and usefully applied to this purpose. If we beheld a shecinah, or divine presence, like the flame of a taper, on the heads of those who receive the imposition of hands, we might believe that they receive the Holy Ghost at the same time. But as we have no reason to believe what superstitious, credulous, or lying men, fuch as CYPRIAN himself was, reported formerly, that they might establish the proud pretensions Ii3 Harft I

of the clergy; so we have no reason to believe that five men of this order have any more of the divine Spirit in our time, after they are ordained, than they had before. It would be a farce to provoke laughter, if there was no suspicion of prophanation in it, to see them gravely lay hands on one another, and bid one another receive the Holy Ghost.

Will you tell me finally, in opposition to what has been said, and that you may anticipate what remains to be said, that laymen are not only unauthorised, but quite unequal, without the assistance of divines, to the task I propose? If you do, I shall

I shall make no scruple to tell. you, in return, that laymen may be, if they please, in every respect as fit, and are in one important respect more fit, than divines, to go through this examination, and to judge for themselves upon it. We say that the feriptures, concerning the divine authenticity of which all the professors of christianity agree, are the fole criterion of christianity. You add tradition, concerning which there may be, and there is much difpute. We have then a certain invariable rule, whenever the scriptures speak plainly. Whenever they do not speak so, we have this comfortable affurance, that doctrines, which no body arround.

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understands, are revealed to no body, and are therefore improper objects of human inquiry. We know too, that if we receive the explanations and commentaries of these dark fayings from the clergy, we take the greatest part of our religion from the word of man, not from the word of God. Tradition indeed, however derived, is not to be totally rejected; for, if it was, how came the canon of the scriptures, even of the gospels, to be fixed? How was it conveyed down to us? Traditions of general facts, and general propofitions plain and uniform, may be of some authority and use. But particular, anecdotical traditions,

ditions, whose original authority is unknown, or justly fufpicious, and that have acquired only an appearance of generality, and notoriety, because they have been frequently, and boldly repeated from age to age, deserve no more regard, than doctrines evidently added to the scriptures, under pretence of explaining, and commenting them, by men as fallible as ourselves. We may receive the fcriptures, and be perfuaded of their authenticity on the faith of ecclefiaftical tradition: but it feems to me, that we may reject, at the same time, all the artificial theology which has been raised on these scriptures by doctors of the church, with

as much right, as they receive the Old Testament on the authority of jawish scribes and doctors, whilst they reject the oral law, and all rabinical literature.

bonyagan vibigai

He who examines on such principles as these, which are conformable to truth and reason, may lay aside at once the immense volumes of sathers, and councils, of schoolmen, casuists, and controversial writers, which have perplexed the world so long. Natural religion will be to such a man no longer intricate; revealed religion will be no longer mysterious, nor the word of God equivocal. Clearness and precision

cision are two great excellencies of human laws. How much more should we expect to find them in the law of God? They have been banished from thence by artificial theology; and he who is defirous to find them must banish the professors of it from his councils, instead of consulting them. He must seek for genuine chriflianity with that fimplicity of fpirit, with which it is taught in the gospel by CHRIST himself. He must do the very reverse of what has been done by the persons you advise him to conhave these men, who been that

You see that I have said what has been said, on a supposi-

they are appointed by God " ro

tion, that, however obscure theology may be, the christian religion is extremely plain, and requires no great learning, nor deep meditation to develope it. But, if it was not fo plain, if both these were necessary to develope it, is great learning the monopoly of the clergy fince the refurrection of letters, as a little learning was before that aera? Is deep meditation, and justness of reasoning confined to men of that order by a peculiar and exclusive privilege? In short, and to ask a question which experience will decide, have these men, who boast that they are appointed by God "to " be the interpreters of his fe-" cret will, to represent his per-

"person, and to answer in his "name, as it were, out of the " fanctuary ";" have these men, I fay, been able, in more than seventeen centuries, to establish an uniform fystem of revealed religion, for natural religion never wanted their help, among the civil focieties of christians, or even in their own? They do not feem to have aimed at this defirable end. Divided as they have always been, they have always studied in order to believe §, and to take upon truft, or to find matter of discourse,

· CAL Inf. L. iv. c. 3.

N. B. I chuse to borrow these expressions from Calvin, in order to shew how much they ascribe, who are supposed to ascribe the least, to this order.

BACON's Effays.

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or to contradict and confute: but never to confider impartially, nor to use a free judgment. On the contrary, they who have attempted to use this freedom of judgment have been constantly, and cruelly persecuted by them.

THE first steps towards the establishment of artificial theology, which has passed for christianity ever fince, were enthufiaftical. They were not heretics alone, who delighted in wild allegories, and the pompous jargon of mystery: they were the orthodox fathers of the first ages; they were the disciples of the apostles, or the fcholars of their difciples: for the

the truth of which I may appeal to the epiftles, and other writings of these men that are extant, to those of CLEMENS, of IGNATIUS, or of IRENAEUS, for instance; and to the visions of Hermes, that have so near a resemblance to the productions of BUNYAN.

THE next steps of the same kind were rhetorical. They were made by men who declaimed much, and reasoned ill, but who imposed on the imaginations of others by the heat of their own, by their hyperboles, their exaggerations, the actimony of their style, and their violent invectives. Such were the Chrysostoms the Jeroms,

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an HILARIUS, a GYRIL, and most of the fathers.

The graphing

THE last of the steps I shall mention were logical: and these were made very opportunely, and very advantageoufly for the church, and for artificial theology. Abfurdity in speculation, and superstition in practice, had been cultivated fo long, and were become fo groß, that men began to fee through the veils that had been thrown over them, as ignorant as those ages were. Then the schoolmen arose. I need not display their character, it is enough known. This only I will fay, that, having very few materials of knowledge, and much fub-

Subtilitymof with alaheya wrought up lightems of fancy on the litdenthey knew ; band invented and art, abyothe help of Arismo-TIE not of enlarging, but of pazzling knowledge with techinical terms, with definitions, dir Stinctions, and Syllogisms merelys verbales they btaught what they could not explain; evado ed what they could not answer: and he who had the most skill in this art might put to filence, when it came into general use, the man who was consciously certain that he had truth and reaprinciples of ecclessificial notinol They have done, with these new THE authority of the schools dasted till the resurrection of letters. But as foot as real knowledge Kk we

ledge was enlarged, and the conduct of the understanding better understood, it fell into contempt. The advocates of artificial theology have had, fince that time, a very hard talk. They have been obliged to defend in the light what was imposed in the dark, and to acquire knowledge to justify ignorance. They were drawn to it with reluctancy. But learning, that grew up among the laity, and controversies with one another, made this unavoidable, which was not eligible on the principles of ecclefiaftical policy. They have done, with these new arms, all that great parts, great pains, and great zeal could do under fuch disadvantages; and ledge we

we may apply to this order, on this occasion, "Si Perga-" ma dextra," etc. But their Troy cannot be defended; irreparable breaches have been made in it. They have improved in learning and knowledge: but this improvement has been general, and as remarkable at least among the laity, as among the clergy. Besides which, it must be owned that the former have had in this respect a fort of indirect obligation to the latter; for, whilft these men have fearched into antiquity, have improved criticism, and almost exhausted subtilty, they have furnished so many arms the more to fuch of the others, as do not fubmit implicitly to them, but Kk 2

examine and judge for themfelves. By refuting one another
when they differ, they have
made it no hard matter to refute them all when they agree:
and, I believe, there are few
books written to propagate, or
defend the received notions of
artificial theology, which may
not be refuted by the books
themselves. I conclude on the
whole, that laymen have, or
need to have, no want of the
clergy in examining and analysing the religion they profess.

BUT I said that they are in one important respect more sit to go through this examination without the help of divines, than with it. A layman, who seeks

feeks the truth, may fall into, error: but as he can have no interest to deceive himself, so he has none of profession to bias his private judgment, any more than to engage him to deceive others. Now the clergyman lies strongly under this influence in every communion. How indeed should it be otherwise? Theology is become one of those fciences which SENECA calls " scientiae in lucrum exeuntes:" and sciences, like arts, whose object is gain, are, in good English, trades. Such theology is: and men who could make no fortune, except the lowest, in any other, make often the highest in this: for the proof of which affertion I might pro-Kk3 duce

Thus it comes to pais that new churches may be established by the dissentions, but that old ones cannot be reformed by the concurrence, of the clergy. There is no composition

to be made with this order of miena die nichou deci wnot be lieve all they teath in every come munion, is replified nearly ds criminal as the who believes no partiofeit.veillewho cannot al femorito the athanafidn creed, of which archbishopy Tructs of faid, las I have heard, that he wished we were well hid, would reveive vie better quarter, what an atheift; from the generality of the sclergy ..... Whato recourse now has a man who dannot be thus implicit? Some have run into feepticismito some intonas theilm, land, for fear of being imposed on by others, have imposed on themselves. The way to avoid thefe extremes is that, which has been chalked out in Kk4 mode this

this introduction in We may think freelyouwithoutothinking ascilia centiously as divines idd lawhen they raise a system of imagination on mue foundations priorias sceptics do when they rehounce all knowledge; or ast atheifs do when they attempt to demolish the foundations of sall, bein ligion, and reject demonstration As we think for ourfelvesyiewe may keep our thoughts td tours dives or or of communicate or their with a due referve, and in fuch au manner sonly, as it may be done without offending the laws of our country, and disturbing the public peace. vd no beloqui poled on themelves. The way and cannor conclude invedifcourse on this occasion better, than

than by putting you in mind of a pallage you quoted to me once, with great applaule, from affermondofi Fosten, hand to this ineffect with there mystery Bibegins, breligion; endsign The spophthegm-pleased me much: and I was glad to hear such a truthe from any pulpit, fince it facws an inclination, at least, to purify christianity from the leavon of artificial theology; which confifts principally in making things, that are very plain, mysterious; and in pretending to make things, that are impenetrably mysterious, very plain: If you continue still of the same mind, Ibshall have no excuse to make to you for what I have written, and shall write. of Our opinions. orlw

opinions coincidentill you have changed your minds think as gain, and examine further. You will find that it is the models not the prefumptuous enquirer; who makes a real, and fafe progress in the discovery of divine truths. 10 One follows wnature, and nature's Gods that is the follows God in his works, and in his word; norsiprefumes to go further, by metaphysical and theological commentaries of his own invention, than the two texts, if I may use this express fion, carry him very evident ly. They who have done of therwife, and have affected to discover, by a supposed science derived from tradition, or taught in the schools, more, than they who

who have not fuch seience can discover, concerning the nature, physical and moral, of the Supreme Being, and concerning the secrets of his providence, have been either enthusiasts, or knaves, or else of that numerous tribe who reason well very often; but reason always on some arbitrary supposition.

Much of this character belonged to the heathen divines; and it is, in all it's parts, peculiarly that of the antient fathers, and modern doctors of the christian church. The former had reafon, but no revelation, to guide them; and tho reafon be always one, we cannot wonder that different prejudices, and different tempers

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tempers of imagination warped it in them, on fuch fubjects as these, and produced all the extravagancies of their theology. The latter had not the excuse of human frailty to make in mitigation of their prefumption. On the contrary, the confideration of this frailty, inseparable from their nature, aggravated their prefumption. They had a much furer criterion, than human reason; they had divine reason, and the word of God to guide them, and to limit their enquiries. How came they to go beyond this criterion? Many of the first preachers were led into it because they preached or writ before there was any fuch criterion established, 8 tempers

ed, in the acceptance of which they all agreed; because they preached or writ, in the mean time, on the faith of tradition, and on a confidence that they were persons extraordinarily gifted. Other reasons succeeded these. Skill in languages, not the gift of tongues, some knowledge of the jewish cabala, and fome of heathen philosophy, of PLATO's especially, made them prefume to comment, and lunder that pretence to enlarge the fystem of christianity, with as much license, as they could have taken if the word of man, instead of the word of God, had been concerned, and they had commented the civil, not the divine law. They did this fo copiously, Suntided.

copiously, that, to give one instance of it, the exposition of St. Matthew's gospel took up ninety homelies, and that of St. John's eighty seven, in the works of Chrysostom: which puts me in mind of a puritanical parson\*, who, if I mistake not, for I have never looked into the folio since I was a boy and condemned sometimes to read in it, made one hundred and nineteen sermons on the hundred and nineteenth psalm.

Now all these men, both heathers and christians, appeared gigantic forms through the false medium of imagination, and

Dr. Manton.

habitual

habitual prejudice; but were, in truth, as arrant dwarfs in the knowledge to which they pretended, as you and I and all the fons of ADAM. The former, however, deferved fome excuse; the latter none. The former made a very ill use of their reason, no doubt, when they prefume to dogmatife about the divine nature; but they deceived no body. What they taught, they taught on their own authority, which every other man was at liberty to receive, or reject, as he approved or disapproved the doctrine. Christians, on the other hand, made a very ill use of revelation and reason both. Instead of employing the fuperior principle

ple to direct and confine the inferior, they employed it to fance tify all, that wild imagination the passions, and the interests of the ecclefiaftical order fuggefted. This abuse of revelation was fo fcandalous, that whilft they were building up a fystem of religion, under the name of christianity, every one, who fought to fignalife himfelf in the enterprise, and they were multitudes, dragged the scriptures to his opinion by different interpretations, paraphrafes, comments. Arius and Nes-TORIUS, both pretended that they had it on their sides: A-THANASIUS and CYRIL on theirs. They rendered the word of God fo dubious, that it ceased

to be a priterion; and they had recourse to another, to councils and the degrees of count cils. He must be very ignorant in ecclesiastical antiquity, who does not know by what intrigues of the contending factions, for fuch they were, and of the worst kind, thefe decrees were obtained : and yet, an opinion prevailing that the Holy Ghoft, the same divine spirit who dictated the scriptures, apresided in these assemblies and distated their decrees, their decrees passed for infallible decisions; and sanctified, little by little much of the superstition, the nonsense, and even the blaspherny, which the fathers taught, and all the ufurpations of the church. This opinion meill

opinion prevailed, and influenced the minds of men to power. fully, and to long, that Eras-Mus, who owns, in one of his letters, that the writings of Oz-COLAMPADIUS against transub-Mantiation feemed fufficient to fethree even the elect, " ut seduci " posse videantur etiam electi," declares in another, that nothing hindered him from embracing the doctrine of OECOLAMPADIUS, but the consent of the church to the other doctrine; " nifi obstaret consensus ecclesiae." Thus artificial theology rofe on the demolitions, not on the foundations, of christianity; was incorporated into it, and became a principal part of it. How much it becomes a good chriflian stian to distinguish them, in his private thoughts at least, and how unsit even the greatest, the most moderate, and the least ambitious of the ecclesiastical order are to assist us in making this distinction, I have endeavoured to shew you by reason, and by example.

It remains then, that we apply ourselves to the study of the first philosophy without any other guides, than the works, and the word of God. In natural religion the clergy are unnecessary, in revealed they are dangerous guides.

to Mr. P O.P E.

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